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FBIS-SOV-92-002 CONTENTS *3 January 1992*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of the republics of the former Soviet Union.

NOTICE TO READERS: The name of this book will change from the "Soviet Union DAILY REPORT" to the "Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT" with the 6 January 1992 edition. The "Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT" will cover the same geographic area as the "Soviet Union DAILY REPORT." There will also be a reorganization of the sections. The "International Affairs" and the "Interregional Affairs" sections will be reduced, while the individual republic sections will be expanded. Much information previously found in the "International Affairs" and "Interregional Affairs" sections will be found under "Russia: International Affairs" or "Russia: Federation Affairs."

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Arms Control & Disarmament

Commentary on Disarmament Initiatives, Stance *[Moscow International]* 1

United States & Canada

CIA Assessment of Nuclear Arsenal Reported *[TASS]* 1
U.S. Army Chief Cited on Troop Reductions *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Jan]* 1

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Pacific Fleet Uses Singapore for Repairs *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Dec]* 2

West Europe

North Korea Said Ready To Receive Honecker *[IZVESTIYA 31 Dec]* 2

Latin America & Caribbean

'Last Few Hundred' Specialists Leaving Cuba *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 26 Dec]* 2

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

'Final Chapter' 'Written' on Supreme Soviet *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 27 Dec]* 3

Political & Social

Intelligence Chiefs Interviewed on Future Aims 3
    Bakatin Remarks *[IZVESTIYA 2 Jan]* 3
    Primakov Comments *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 21 Dec]* 6
Official Transfer of Foreign Ministry Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 25 Dec]* 10
Republic Presidents Interviewed on New Year *[PRAVDA 1 Jan]* 11
Ligachev Interviewed on Political Situation *[Moscow TV]* 12
Blockade of PRAVDA Offices Not Yet Lifted *[PRAVDA 26 Dec]* 13
TASS Reviews 2 Jan TV Evening News 14
    Carries 3 Jan Press Review *[TASS]* 14

Commonwealth Affairs

Minsk Functions as Coordinating Center *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Jan]* 15
Point of Contention Arises Over Embassies *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Jan]* 16
NATO-Type Military Alliance Advocated *[IZVESTIYA 28 Dec]* 16
Documents Demonstrate 'Pitiful Productivity' *[IZVESTIYA 2 Jan]* 18

Economic

Yavlinskiy Cited on Soviet Economic Figures *[IZVESTIYA 24 Dec]* 19
Living Standards Down; Further Drop Expected *[Moscow International]* 20
Air, Railroad Transport Situation Viewed *[Moscow TV]* 20
Gas Ministry 'Not Affected' by 'Depression' *[Moscow International]* 20
Reactions to Price Hikes Countrywide Viewed *[TASS]* 20

Military

Shaposhnikov To Visit Republics on Armed Forces *[INTERFAX]* 22
'Untoward Tension' Created in Navy, Army *[IZVESTIYA 2 Jan]* 22
Results of Minsk Defense Decisions Assessed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Jan]* 22
Impact of Armed Forces Debate, Changes Viewed 23
    Strategic Missile Troops' Mood *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 31 Dec]* 23
    Baltic 'Powder Keg' *[KRASNAYA ZVVEZDA 1 Jan]* 24
Fate of Black Sea Fleet Sailors Discussed *[Moscow TV]* 24
Further Information on New Cruiser Kuznetsov *[Russian TV]* 25

BALTIC COUNTRIES

Estonia

Bank Ends, Transfers Hard Currency Auctions *[BALTFAX]* 26
Police, Ministry Plan Passport Reregistration *[BALTFAX]* 26
Maintenence of Agricultural Subsidies Urged *[BALTFAX]* 26
Fuel Arrives From Belarus 27, 28 Dec *[Tallinn Radio]* 26

Latvia

Ministry's Role in Parfenov Case Viewed *[PRAVDA 25 Dec]* 26
Travel Restrictions to Poland Introduced *[Riga Radio]* 27

Lithuania

Cabinet Meets on Border, Russian Ties *[Vilnius International]* 27
Official on Georgian Events, Gorbachev Move *[BALTFAX]* 27
Trade Agreement Signed With Kazakhstan *[Moscow Radio]* 27
Banks To Phase Out Universal Coupons *[Vilnius International]* 27
First Quarter Food Coupons Introduced *[Vilnius Radio]* 28
Government To Withhold Issue of Own Currency *[IZVESTIYA 28 Dec]* 28
Impact of Russian Inflation Assessed *[Vilnius International]* 28
Issuance of Identification Cards Ordered *[Vilnius Radio]* 28
News Conference on Jan Coup Plotters Held *[PRAVDA 20 Dec]* 28
    Extradition Demand Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 19 Dec]* 29
Minister Comments on Radio Vilnius' Future *[Vilnius Radio]* 30

RUSSIA

Regional Affairs

'Comparative Calm' in Moscow After Prices Rise *[INTERFAX]* 32
PRAVDA Reports Delicacies Available *[30 Dec]* 32
Moscow Relys on Food Parcels From Provinces *[Moscow TV]* 33

Popov Says Market Contribution 'Positive' *[Moscow International]* 33
Moscow Aviation Trade House To Sell Planes *[Moscow International]* 33
Regional Views of Price Liberalization Noted *[Moscow Radio]* 33
Price Increases Noted in Eastern Regions *[Moscow TV]* 34
Sakhalin Governor Wants Repeal of Free Prices *[PRAVDA 30 Dec]* 34
Yakutia's Government To Keep Prices Unchanged *[INTERFAX]* 34
Yakutia Presidium Meets on Military Units *[INTERFAX]* 34
St. Petersburg Holds Revival Conference *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 24 Dec]* 34
St. Petersburg Ports To Be Municipal Property *[TASS]* 35
Curfew Lifted in Chechen-Ingush District *[INTERFAX]* 35
Chechen Recalls Union, Russian Deputies *[TASS]* 35
Tatar Deputies Say CIS Declaration Illegal *[POSTFACTUM]* 35
Jewish Region Opposed To Becoming Republic *[INTERFAX]* 35

Federation Affairs

Constitutional Court To View Security Decree *[INTERFAX]* 36
Post-Liberalization Economic Prospects Viewed *[TASS]* 36
Gaydar Interviewed on Price Liberalization *[IZVESTIYA 3 Jan]* 36
Poll on Market Economy Hopes, Eating Habits *[INTERFAX]* 38
New Income Tax Legislation Takes Effect *[Moscow Radio]* 39
Union Sberbank Stops Activities; To Liquidate *[TASS]* 39
Rutskoy Interviewed on Yeltsin, Democracy *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 18 Dec]* 39
Russia, Unions, Businessmen To Sign Accord *[Moscow Radio]* 43
Trade Unions Head Cited on Government Reforms *[IZVESTIYA 26 Dec]* 44
Concepts of Foreign Trade Decrees Challenged *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 27 Dec]* 44
'Military Must Not Suffer' in New Year *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Jan]* 45
Mamedov Appointed Deputy Foreign Minister *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Jan]* 45
Nationwide Union Holds Congress, Elects Leader *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 24 Dec]* 45
National Rebirth Party Holds Founding Congress *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 24 Dec]* 45
Procurator General Interview on Coup, Crime *[Moscow Radio]* 45

Supreme Soviet

Security Council Law To Be Submitted 17 Jan *[INTERFAX]* 47
Treaty Debates With Lithuania May Be 'Uneasy' *[BALTFAX]* 47
Disregard for Procedural Rules Criticized *[IZVESTIYA 28 Dec]* 47

International Affairs

Kozyrev Discusses CIS, Diplomatic Relations *[INTERFAX]* 48
  Meets With U.S. Senator *[Russian TV]* 49
Foreign Ministry Assesses Salvadoran Agreement *[TASS]* 49
Japan Agrees on Preparations for Yeltsin Visit *[TASS]* 50
Ministry Supports UN Authority in Cambodia *[TASS]* 50
Zimbabwe Recalls Ambassador for Consultations *[PRAVDA 30 Dec]* 50
New Russian Ambassador to France Appointed *[Paris LE MONDE 29-30 Dec]* 50

WESTERN REPUBLICS

Belarus

Republic Introduces Coupon Trade System *[Moscow TV]* 51
Consumer Prices To Increase 3-5 Times *[INTERFAX]* 51
Shaposhnikov Begins Commonwealth Tour *[TASS]* 51
Official Describes Talks With Austria *[PRAVDA 28 Dec]* 51

Moldova

Unification With Romania Possible in '92 *[INTERFAX]* 52
Snegur's Spokesman Assesses Minsk Meeting *[Bucharest Radio]* 52
President's Decree Introduces Value Added Tax *[Kishinev Radio]* 53

Ukraine

- Kravchuk Reflects on '91, Views '92 *[Russian TV]* 53
  - On France as Model for Kiev *[IZVESTIYA 26 Dec]* 54
  - On Nuclear Weapons Control *[Moscow Radio]* 57
  - On Russia as 'Only Legal Successor' *[Kiev International]* 57
- Presidential Spokesman Announces Kravchuk Ill *[Radio Rossii]* 57
- Kiev Said 'Content' With Smaller Fleet Ships *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 29 Dec]* 57
- Black Sea, Danube Fleets To Form New Fleet *[Kiev Radio]* 57
- Situation Following Price Increases Noted *[Radio Rossii]* 58
- Decree Retains State Regulation of Prices *[IZVESTIYA 26 Dec]* 58
- Crimean Tatar Chairman Opposes Referendum *[HOLOS 25 Dec]* 58
- Economic Minister Views Republic's Potential *[URYADOVYY KURYER Nov]* 59
- Assembly Condemns CIS Agreement Ratification *[Kiev Radio]* 60

CAUCASUS

Armenia

- Gas Supplies From Azerbaijan Resume *[TASS]* 61
- President, Officers Discuss Army's Future *[ARMENPRES]* 61
- Presidium To View Price Liberalization 3 Jan *[Yerevan Radio]* 61
- Nuclear Power Plant To Resume Operation *[TASS]* 62

Azerbaijan

- NKAO Fighting Becoming 'Local War' *[Russian TV]* 62

Georgia

- Military Council Assumes All Government Power 62
  - Statement Circulated *[INTERFAX]* 62
  - Sigua Appointed Prime Minister *[TASS]* 62
  - Gamsakhurdia Condemns Council *[Radio Rossii]* 63
  - Presidium Condemns Council *[TASS]* 63
  - President Ordered To Leave *[TASS]* 63
- Situation in Tskhinval 'Almost Catastrophic' *[TASS]* 63

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

- 'Arafat Visits Nazarbayev To Enlist Support *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 26 Dec]* 64
- Executive Powers, Bodies To Be Reformed *[INTERFAX]* 64
- Disbandment Decision Reversed, Party Restored *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 24 Dec]* 64
- 'Coalition for Social Protection' Formed *[Russian TV]* 64
- Conference Establishes People's Congress Party *[Kazakh Radio]* 64
- 300 Nationals Denied Crossing Into PRC *[Kazakh Radio]* 65

Kyrgyzstan

- 'Islamic Call' Assists Republic's Muslims *[INTERFAX]* 65

Tajikistan

- Nabiyev Congratulates Karimov on Election Win *[Dushanbe Radio]* 65
- President Signs Decree Lifting Salary Limits *[TASS]* 65
- Dushanbe City Not Receiving Agreed Supplies *[Dushanbe Radio]* 65

Turkmenia

President Meets With Turkish Culture Minister *[Ashkabad Radio]* 66
Foreign Minister on Central Asian Relations *[TASS]* 66
President, Iranian Foreign Minister Meet *[Tehran Radio]* 66
Ceilings Lifted on Salaries, Wages, Raises *[INTERFAX]* 67
Republic Parliament To Free Prices 6 Jan *[INTERFAX]* 67
New Republican Bank To Be Established *[INTERFAX]* 67

Uzbekistan

Economic, Trade Agreement Signed With PRC *[Radio Rossii]* 67
Accord Signed With Saudi Arabia on Workers *[Russian TV]* 67
Convicted 'Cotton Case' Prisoners Pardoned *[TASS]* 67
Karimov Interviewed on Republic's Future *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 21 Dec]* 68

Arms Control & Disarmament

Commentary on Disarmament Initiatives, Stance

LD0201172892 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Commentary written by correspondent Yuriy Solton—read by announcer; from the "News and Views" program]

[Text] An American delegation led by the U.S. Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs Reginald Bartholemew is due to arrive in Moscow next week to continue talks on nuclear disarmament, in line with the initiatives put forward by George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev last week. Here are notes on the subject by Yuriy Solton:

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, (?each of them) has voiced its intention to promote friendly ties with other countries. American nuclear missiles are still aimed at targets in Russia and other former Soviet Republics, as Russian missiles are targeted at the United States. Isn't it absurd that now, when Moscow and Washington no longer regard each other as potential enemies, the strategy of nuclear deterrence and of balance of fear is still being relied on? The U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney complains that Russia allegedly continues to modernize its strategic forces. But the same is underway in the United States. However, neither side is going beyond the signed agreements.

Of course, one can go on pointing to each other to justify the work of the war machine. But wouldn't it be better to search for ways toward a radical elimination of nuclear arsenals? [Word indistinct] it seems quite possible to speed up the implementation of the treaty on cutting the strategic nuclear arms by approximately 30% and move further. The Russian leadership has already declared its intention to unilaterally cut, within the current decade, the nuclear weapons stockpiled by the former USSR by 80%.

Second, it seems necessary to act on the initiatives of Bush and Gorbachev more readily. Russia plans to take out of ready-for-combat position 503 intercontinental ballistic missiles as well as [word indistinct] bombers carrying nuclear weapons. Preparations are underway to dismantle the greater part of the tactical nuclear systems. A unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests has been declared for one year after the nuclear test grounds were (?inoperational) for a whole year already. Moscow is eager to discuss proposals on a non-nuclear anti-missile defence system and on the creation of a reliable mechanism to prevent an unsanctioned missile attack.

It can be noted with satisfaction that in addition to the implementation of President Bush's initiative, the United States thinks about decreasing its nuclear potential further. For good reasons: the collapse of the USSR and the formation of the CIS will not allow Russia and other republics to ratify the treaty in strategic offensive arms as the United States has done. Much has cleared up after the conference of the CIS leaders in Minsk. The meeting decided the question of a single command of strategic forces, a command that will be subordinate to a council of the heads of the CIS member states.

Let us hope the negotiations on nuclear disarmament due in Moscow will be substantive by nature, and that a small step will be taken toward the time when the United States and Russia stop targeting missiles at each other. This will meet the interests of all countries too.

United States & Canada

CIA Assessment of Nuclear Arsenal Reported

LD0201160192 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] Washington January 2 (TASS)—The Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S.A. has prepared a report on the state of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union. CBS American television company reported on Wednesday [1 January] some of the conclusions contained in this document.

According to intelligence agency experts, the main threat comes now not from the weapons, but from the men capable of making them. Soviet scientists rendered jobless may try to find jobs with other regimes interested in using their knowledge. For example in Libya, Iran or South Korea. According to the CIA, about 900 thousand men were working in the Soviet nuclear weapon industry.

Lately, American Administration officials have time and again emphasised satisfaction on statements of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member state leaders about reliable control over nuclear arsenal. Theoretically it is possible to control nuclear weapons, but the same can not be said about the men who made them. The economic chaos on the territory of the former USSR will force many specialists to seek a better life abroad, the CIA experts fear.

U.S. Army Chief Cited on Troop Reductions

PM0201161592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 92 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "United States-Europe: GI's Returning Home"]

[Text] General Sullivan, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, has told journalists in Washington that the U.S. Armed Forces stationed in Europe are preparing for the upcoming reduction of their contingents and their return to the United States. In the next few weeks 40,000 servicemen will return to the United States from Europe. These reductions are being made by the U.S. Armed Forces Command as a result of the substantial lowering of the Soviet military threat and of changes to U.S. military strategy, which relies on the more active use of troops stationed on U.S. territory to respond to crises which may occur in the world. In accordance with Pentagon plans, the U.S. Army troops (ground forces) stationed in Europe, comprising four divisions of different types numbering 213,000 men, will be reduced before the end of 1995 to two divisions or 92,000 servicemen. Overall the European grouping will be reduced by 150,000 men.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Pacific Fleet Uses Singapore for Repairs

PM0201143792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

[Captain First Rank V. Shirokov report: "Trip to Singapore"]

[Text] A Pacific Fleet auxiliary ship, the medium maritime tanker Ilim, departed on an unusual trip 20 December. It left for Singapore. This is the "first swallow" in many years that has gone to warm southern lands to be repaired.

This was possible thanks to entrepreneurship. It all began relatively recently with an agreement concluded between the Pacific Fleet Command and the Soviet-U.S. joint enterprise "Soviet American Food," which is headed on the American side by Michael Mayzel [surname as transliterated]. The enterprise leases Pacific Fleet ships from the auxiliary fleet for the transportation of freight. Half of the profit goes to the Americans and half to the fleet. "Soviet American Food" has committed itself to organizing the repair of the auxiliary ships in Singapore. There the delivery dates are short and the quality of repairs is very high. Several other ships in the Pacific Fleet are preparing to depart for Singapore.

West Europe

North Korea Said Ready To Receive Honecker

92UF0408A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 91 Union Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Neither the DPRK Nor Germany Is Forgetting About Honecker"]

[Text] The DPRK has once again confirmed that it is not forgetting about Erich Honecker, who has been in the Chilean Embassy since 11 December. According to a report by the North Korean KCNA agency, on Sunday [29 December] the DPRK Government appealed to Russia to let Honecker fly to Pyongyang. "Sober-minded people throughout the world sympathize with our humane decision to render him medical assistance," said the DPRK health minister, who expressed concern at the state of health of the former leader of the GDR. "Honecker's morale is very low and he suffers constantly from stress," the minister of health noted. "Remaining in the embassy, which is not a medical institution, Honecker runs the risk of doing himself irreparable damage."

Germany also remembers Honecker, but wishes to see him home not to fix his health. As FRG Justice Minister Klaus Kinkel declared on the radio, he warned Russia against an "unfriendly act"—handing Honecker over to a "third" country. "We have the Russian Government's promise not to do so," Kinkel emphasized.

Many commentators are continuing to ask themselves why Germany aspires to bring Honecker to trial. They are dissatisfied with the explanations of members of the FRG Government, specifically of Kinkel, who says that "granted all the respect for Honecker's anti-fascist activity, he was one of those mainly responsible for the 40 years of lawlessness of the Communist regime." A recent JUNGE WELT commentary notes that, according to polls, more than 50 percent of East Germans are indifferent to whether Honecker is put on trial or not. The newspaper explains this mood by the fact that the East Germans subconsciously believe that a trial would not produce the desired results and would become, rather, a process of indictment of the history of the former GDR, enabling West German politicians to parade their victory over the GDR.

Latin America & Caribbean

'Last Few Hundred' Specialists Leaving Cuba

PM0301105592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Dec 91 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Specialists Depart"]

[Text] Havana—In the final few days of the year it has become virtually impossible to book a ticket on Aeroflot flights from Havana to Moscow. The packed planes are taking home the last few hundred Soviet specialists who, until quite recently, numbered thousands here.

According to information from well-informed sources, at the present time there are around 600 Soviet specialists in Cuba working at the few bilateral cooperation projects left intact after the rapid changes that have occurred. The largest collective of Soviet workers and engineers—over 400 people—is working on the construction of the Juragua nuclear electric power station near the city of Cienfuegos.

Just two years ago there were around 3,500 specialists from the USSR at the many Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation projects here. However, as the difficulties and problems in the USSR increased so the credits for the construction of various Cuban enterprises decreased, along with the number of our fellow countrymen.

Supreme Soviet

'Final Chapter' 'Written' on Supreme Soviet

PM0301102992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by parliamentary observer Robert Minasov: "One Flag Remains Above Kremlin"]

[Text] The Kremlin—Only one person represented the well and truly depleted presidium behind the huge table of Karelian birch wood—Chairman of the Soviet of the Republics Anuarbek Alimzhanov—but all seven flags continued to flutter on their flagpoles behind him.

Incidentally on the subject of flags. Since yesterday morning only one flag has been flying above the Kremlin—that of the Russian Federation. In this way the final chapter has been written.

Those people's elected representatives who refused to participate in their own wake probably demonstrated the utmost good sense.

Alimzhanov, in complete keeping with the situation, made a sad speech expressing the opinion that we and our country are returning to capitalism in its primitive form. We know what we have lost, he emphasized, and do not know what we have acquired.

The parliamentarians in essence only discussed one of the documents presented to the chamber—the Declaration of the Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republics in connection with the cessation of the USSR's existence and the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The document says: "Being guided by the wishes expressed by the highest representative organs of state power (then all 11 members of the Commonwealth are listed), the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republics declares that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will cease to exist after all the mentioned states ratify the Agreement to Form the Commonwealth."

The declaration contains appeals for the rights and freedoms of citizens to be safeguarded irrespective of their nationality, for the peoples to peacefully coexist etc.

In the space of a few minutes the deputies removed from office members of the USSR Supreme Court, judges of the Supreme Court of Arbitration, members of the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium, staffers of these organs, and finally, at his own personal request, Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] Board.

I will take the liberty of a small digression in order to tell readers what was the mood in the hall before going out the door. For the last time... On the eve of the final act, Deputy Samarin made an inflammatory speech: This was a potent mixture of political demagoguery and blatantly offensive attacks on the three heads of state who signed the Agreement on the Creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Even the Supreme Soviet Secretariat had balked at publishing his speech in issue No. 19 of 12 December. He regarded the agreement concluded in Belovezhskaya Forest as a coup d'etat headed by Yeltsin. He nonchalantly reduced Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's level of competence to that of a school teacher, and called Burbulis a gladiator. Becoming incensed, he lost control of himself and was now mocking his colleagues. Only these words of Samarin turned out to be perspicacious: "There is nothing for us to discuss here." What is true is true. But it is not this tactless behavior nor Samarin in isolation which is the point. Nor is it even Leonid Sukhov, who demanded a platform for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. From the actual rostrum in parliament the fervent advocate of "socialism with a human face" Vavil Nosov appealed to his colleagues to seize power in the bolshevist manner. True, he did not specify in what manner.

One of the deputies had busied himself and carried out an analysis of the USSR Supreme Soviet's activities: Of 130 legislative acts, he reported, only 13 are not in effect on the former USSR's territory. If he was to swap these figures around you could agree with him if you stretched a point. Yes, certain of the USSR Supreme Soviet's laws and resolutions acted as a basis for the lawmaking process in the former republics: that is, the Union parliament fulfilled the role of supplier of semi-finished goods. Is this not too expensive a luxury?

But I would nevertheless not even begin to assert that the USSR Supreme Soviet provided nothing which was sensible. Its greatest achievement was precisely that in a very short time it launched a whole galaxy of sensible, principled, and democratically inclined leaders into the political arena—Yuriy Ryzhov, Aleksey Yemelyanov, Pavel Bunich, Sergey Stankevich, Gavriil Popov, Marina Rakhmanova, Irena Andreyeva, and many others beside.

How can we not recall here Sergey Stankevich's rebuke of Mikhail Gorbachev when the latter called the Interregional Deputies Group "political rabble." This shortsightedness, incidentally, became the cause of a personal drama for Gorbachev himself. However I am sure that among these very people whom he so incorrectly evaluated, there is absolutely no one who is laughing maliciously in the wake of the president's resignation.

The Supreme Soviet made these people known and in its own way educated them. So as we bid farewell to the former Union parliament we will be grateful to it at least for that.

Political & Social

Intelligence Chiefs Interviewed on Future Aims

Bakatin Remarks

PM0201152192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with outgoing Interrepublic Security Service Chief Vadim Bakatin by Sergey Mostovshchikov; place and date not given: "Vadim Bakatin: I Do Not Believe Anyone Who Says: I Know Everything About the Lubyanka"—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Usually we hear from the newcomer. But this time the leader is departing. And not out of choice but through compulsion: Either through force of circumstances or because of the implacable march of history. What is he going to tell us now: Will he try to vindicate himself? Will he complain of evil intrigues? Will he give his successor advice?

In this interview, too, Vadim Bakatin is absolutely frank (as frank as possible, of course). In his post such conduct is unusual, as unusual as the things he wanted to do at the KGB—to adapt the old totalitarian mechanism to the new democratic conditions. And it seems that he repeated Mikhail Gorbachev's dramatic path in this...

Vadim Bakatin is going. Going only to return?

[Mostovshchikov] Just over four months ago a Gorbachev decree appointed you to head the USSR KGB. Why, in your opinion, did Gorbachev, after returning from Foros, choose you in particular for the role of head of a whole state within his state? What convinced you that you should accept his decision?

[Bakatin] It should not be presumed that the main role here was played by Gorbachev. It was not just up to Gorbachev. The State Council "chose" me. When quite unexpectedly I was invited to the State Council, which comprised the presidents of all the republics, I was struck first of all not by the suggestion itself, which indeed to some extent was unexpected, but by the unanimity with which the presidents made this decision. I said that there were other candidates and that, furthermore, I considered that the KGB as such should be abolished and only intelligence and counterintelligence retained. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin answered first—fine, go ahead. I asked: Is this the common opinion? They all said: Yes. Yeltsin proposed to Gorbachev that he add to the draft decision a point committing me to reorganize the KGB. In short, that general postputsch enthusiasm, if I may put it that way, the desire to be useful, the well-known formula "if I do not do it, who will?"—all these factors taken together influenced me in my decision to accept this colossal responsibility.

[Mostovshchikov] Despite the fact that prior to your arrival at the KGB you were interior minister, you could imagine that you did not completely know what went on at the Lubyanka. Clearly, not many people at all can boast that they know absolutely everything about the KGB. What do you now know about the KGB, and have your ideas about that organization changed over the last four months?

[Bakatin] I do not believe those who boast that they know everything about the Lubyanka. There is no such person. My ideas have not changed, they have broadened. However, now I know that I know far less about the KGB than I thought I knew before.

[Mostovshchikov] In your first interview for IZVESTIYA in your new capacity, you said that the USSR KGB in its old guise represented a danger to the state. You set out to rid the country of that danger and make the KGB an instrument for the protection of the state and its citizens. What can you tell us now: The Soviet or rather the Russian special service—is it still unsafe?

[Bakatin] I did not think and do not now think it possible for us to reform the KGB radically—by the German or Czechoslovak path—that is, to begin by completely abolishing it and then creating something new. It must not be destroyed but reformed. If I may put it this way, that is the humane direction which I chose.

I planned to work in three directions, which I have already spoken about. First and foremost disintegration. That has happened. Structurally the system of the special services has become safer for society. And I am glad at least that all these tumultuous upheavals over our statehood ultimately made it possible at least to preserve a single intelligence service.

Second—decentralization. Of course, this path depended less on the will of the leader of the KGB, or indeed of any other department. Due to the weak condition of the Union this happened regardless of the center's wishes. But we, and I mean here the ISS—the Interrepublic Security Service—have not become ungovernable, and no one has destroyed the republic and oblast structures. But the leaders of all the security services, literally all of them, including Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Moldova, all the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics, agreed to cooperate. The Coordination Council was created—and it is a good foundation for functioning in the conditions of the Commonwealth.

The third main direction of reorganization is the repudiation of the ideology of "Chekism," the repudiation of the constant search for an enemy because, without a clearly defined enemy, whom previously the Politburo used to indicate, the KGB in the old sense simply could not exist. At first this meant counterrevolutionaries, then Trotskiyists, then the members of the Doctors' Plot, then U.S. imperialism, then dissidents, and so forth. Those are all the things that had to be repudiated, and it is hard to picture the KGB as the KGB without those things. But here is where the second part of this activity comes in—increasing work efficiency. Directing the special services toward the real needs of society, moving away from spy mania to ensuring security based on cooperation and trust. The main attention should be paid to outside criminal influence on our internal affairs and the struggle against crime in the new economic and interstate conditions. The fight against organized crime, primarily against corruption.

It must be said plainly here that success was not achieved. I do not believe that it was possible anyway to significantly reform anything in such a short time in the conditions that actually exist, given the demoralization, if you will, of all the criminal justice services, not just the KGB. Nor do I think that the incipient Russian service, like the others, achieved great successes in ideological restructuring equal to the building of a democratic state. This still has to be achieved. Thus I do not think that our special services have already become safe for citizens. There are no laws, no control, no professional internal security services.

[Mostovshchikov] Judging from the assessments of your subordinates, at the KGB they quite quickly began to regard you as an outsider. In other words, as an alien in that organization. Did you feel that yourself? And if so, what form did it take?

[Bakatin] A man who has come to abolish the KGB and abolish the "Chekist spirit" (whether he succeeded or not I do not know; pray God that someone else succeeds)—such a man cannot be one of "theirs." That is absolutely clear. And although recently quite a few people appeared who think as I do and work began to be organized properly, I did not think that the absolute majority supported me. That was shown in everything. A general once said among his entourage: "If we want it that way... he will not know anything." My mistake was that I was the only newcomer. Or almost the only one. In KGB conditions you need your own team immediately.

[Mostovshchikov] As far as I am aware, you have paid quite a lot of attention to the archives and files kept at the KGB. These are probably that organization's most secret possessions. As KGB chief, did you really have access to absolutely all available information, could you request it, or were attempts made to hinder you in this? Do you, for example, have the firm certainty that the committee holds no secret file on Vadim Bakatin and the members of his family or on other major political figures?

[Bakatin] I have no such firm certainty. But I do not think that the KGB has a file on the members of my family, although I would say once again that there can be no certainty in anything. I, incidentally, do not agree that I paid a lot of attention to the archives. This applies rather to journalists, academics, politicians, and the public. I wanted to help them to some extent. To what extent this was successful is not for me to judge. No doubt far from completely. A raft of laws on archives is needed.

[Mostovshchikov] Recent events have caused a storm of indignation among state security personnel and unrest among nonprofessionals—the handing over to Robert Strauss of technical documentation on equipment used for bugging the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. The newspapers have cited the opinion of various people. You have not officially expressed yourself on this score in the mass media. I would like to know your viewpoint on what has happened.

[Bakatin] The official viewpoint was expressed in information conveyed to TASS by the Public Relations Center. But clearly the old KGB's position in the mass media is too strong, because not a single newspaper published this statement in full. Even your democratic newspaper, IZVESTIYA, acted, I would say, improperly by starting to comment on it, picking out individual sections of the statement at random, without actually publishing it. The reason this was done is not certain, of course, but I personally think that everything here is all too obvious.

And what happened was bound to happen. Such "sensations" will occur many times more. During the cold war, the war of "communism" against "American imperialism," we built up a host of problems and misunderstandings which we will be forced to resolve in the light of the new policy, a policy of cooperation and trust, a policy of sincerity. I am sure that after our change of statehood no adverse changes will occur in Russian policy. On the contrary, the moral component in interstate policy and the trend toward sincerity and trust will strengthen.

I personally very much value and understand the answer given by Yeltsin during his CNN interview, published in your newspaper on 26 December, where he says that he regards as the chief quality of a politician sincerity and truthfulness based on the demands of this policy, a new policy which many people as yet cannot or do not want to understand, and this "sensation" should be examined. It also has to be borne in mind that since 1982, when the KGB was caught red-handed installing these devices in the U.S. Embassy then under construction, this "secret" has been known to the whole world. The Americans knew all about the devices planted. There is no new equipment there. The equipment is hopelessly obsolete; there is nothing like it anywhere else. These defunct, obsolete blueprints have taught the Americans nothing new. And even if the Lord God himself wanted them to, they could no longer work anyway. They have had it.

In light of all this, by agreement with the president of the Union, the president of Russia, and the ministries of foreign affairs the Americans were informed of the main point: not idle talk about cooperation, but a specific move demonstrating our readiness for cooperation and for trust in action. Now, if they trust us, they will be able to spare themselves pointless expenditure tied up with the need to run the building, but that is their affair.

The storm of indignation of which you speak is very simply explained. Well-informed KGB circles know, and I have never hidden this, that Bakatin is leaving. This is the most convenient and safest time and affords the best opportunity to hoodwink people in order to get even with Bakatin. This is a storm in a teacup. It is not a question of formal rights. It is naive to compare the rights of a rank-and-file staffer with the rights of the chairman of the KGB, who can cancel any instruction and declassify any internal departmental question. How is damage to be measured in politics? The point is that KGB departmental interests cannot, as they did for many years, determine foreign policy, stand above the state and society, and confine policy to confrontation and mistrust.

[Mostovshchikov] Since the formation of the RSFSR Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs, the Interrepublic Security Service which you created is ceasing to exist. You clearly are retiring. At least, that is what is said. It is also known that you recently met with Yeltsin. The details of that meeting are not known. Could you tell us what was discussed?

[Bakatin] I can only say that I am sincerely grateful to the Russian president for the meeting.

[Mostovshchikov] Vadim Viktorovich, you came to the KGB to turn that giant organization upside down. If Archimedes is to be believed, theoretically even the Earth can be turned upside down if you only have the lever. You did not turn the KGB upside down. Why? Did you not have a good lever?

[Bakatin] No one will ever turn the KGB upside down, at least not at present. That will take patience. It will need laws. It will take time for new people to create a new ideology for the special services, one free of all ideology. The implementation of the decree on creation of the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs could, to use your expression, promote the "turning upside down" of the KGB. All that is needed is for parliament to institute effective monitoring and a security service of its own. I am sure that in the future society will gradually rid itself of the Chekist ideology, but that requires that it become a really democratic, civil society.

[Mostovshchikov] So, you are leaving; what will you be doing after the KGB?

[Bakatin] I do not know. I have not yet decided.

Primakov Comments

924B0170A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Dec 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the USSR CIS [Central Intelligence Service], by Andrey Karaulov; place and date not given: "'And, All the Same, There Is Fun in Life!'—Asserts Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, Director of the USSR Central Intelligence Service"]

[Text] [Karaulov] Just do not say that you are in intelligence by accident, tell the truth.

[Primakov] (Laughing) That is witty—I consider you to be one of the most jovial interviewers, but, honest to God, Andrey Viktorovich, I never worked in the KGB, and if anyone thinks that this is the case, he is mistaken. I also do not have a military rank: They wanted to give it to me now, but I refused.

[Karaulov] Nonetheless, you are here.

[Primakov] I have been involved in analytical work all of my life. I managed two big institutes.

[Karaulov] I think that you said somewhere that intelligence is also a science.

[Primakov] Yes, I said that.

[Karaulov] Well, what kind of a science is it, Yevgeniy Maksimovich?

[Primakov] Intelligence is not only Shtirlits and his work. It is a very broad spectrum. And science really prevails in its upper level—analytics. But, second, I worked for a long time as an adviser. How long? The two years that I spent in the Kremlin, and although this is not a long period, there was enough of it to understand: The position of an adviser is not quite my line. I very much would like to have the kind of a job where I was not an observer, even if a highly placed one, but where I myself did the work. Before my trip to the Near East (I went to a number of countries with a message from Mikhail Sergeyevich and with a request to grant us credits), I received a telephone call from Bakatin, and he made this offer. At first, I was unable to take this in at all. Then, I thought about it, "You know," I said to Bakatin, "I am departing on a trip, let us not decide anything for the time being." But when I returned, Bakatin (as I understood it) had already brought this up with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. The president of the country at first offered me the post of adviser on foreign policy and foreign economic questions, but he said that there was also another offer—intelligence.

There was no limit to the amazement of some of my friends, but I chose it.

[Karaulov] The last time I saw you and Bakatin was at the aircraft ramp, when you flew out to Foros. It turned out that the president had almost no people who really were devoted to him. I recall how solemnly and beautifully Bakatin was walking. There, at Vnukovo, on the TU-134 ramp, where Silayev and Rutskoy already were, and a certain moment of truth really arose. But there were only two of you, and I do not know where the others were.

[Primakov] A majority was in the GKChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency]...

[Karaulov] There in the Kremlin, did you guess that a coup d'etat was being readied in adjoining offices?

[Primakov] I did not imagine that it would occur in such a form. Now, you will say that it was not necessary to assign me to intelligence...

[Karaulov] Of course.

[Primakov] ...but even on the 18th, toward evening, when in the sanatorium, where I was located (10 kilometers from Gorbachev's dacha), the telephone in the room went dead, I still did not realize anything. And at that time on the 18th, after dinner, Shakhnazarov and I were taking a walk and saying to each other: It could be that all of those who come to sign the treaty will be arrested right in Novo-Ogarevo. There are too many who do not like the treaty. Too many are losing their entire sphere of influence.

[Karaulov] Then, I simply do not understand. If you assumed the possibility of arrest, if Bush frankly warned Gorbachev that a putsch was being prepared in Moscow...

[Primakov] But I do not think that there was any serious warning. But when I realized: Gorbachev did not know that Pavlov, Kryuchkov, Pugo, and Yazov would speak at the Supreme Soviet session with a demand for "emergency powers"... it became clear: The black clouds are gathering...

[Karaulov] But everyone remained in their places. Gorbachev did not touch anyone. Liberalism? Naivete? Decency? How is this to be understood?

[Primakov] If you wish, this is a mixture of decency with a certain lack of concern. I think that he believed: These people could pressure him somehow, and exercise some kind of influence, but to imagine that tanks would come out onto the streets, in my opinion, he never believed this...

[Karaulov] Pugo was in the same sanatorium. Did you talk to each other?

[Primakov] Yes.

[Karaulov] And you did not sense...

[Primakov] There was not even a hint, even a hint. The only thing is that he got sick, but he delayed his departure for Moscow only one day. "Why are you in such a hurry, I say, rest for a few days. No, he answers, I absolutely must fly out on the 18th..." And I found out about the putsch on television. I got a call from Luchinskiy at 0700 (he was also here). He told me to turn on the TV. We got together immediately...

[Karaulov] There, in the sanatorium, were Shakhnazarov, Nishanov...

[Primakov] Nishanov flew out just a little earlier.

[Karaulov] But how did Rafik Nishanovich feel.

[Primakov] He left for the signing of the treaty, but his family remained here—briefly, we assembled. But I decided to try to get a flight to Moscow. "No. 9" refused: There were no tickets, they said. But I went to Simferopol, and I flew out after showing my USSR people's deputy identification.

I just have a request, Andrey Viktorovich. This part that relates to the putsch... after all, there is nothing heroic here.

[Karaulov] Fine. But it was exactly after the putsch that you ended up in the former office of Shebarshin. Did you regret this?

[Primakov] I did not regret it, because it is my nature: I come to work, and I immediately get down to business. To this very day, I will tell you that I did not regret...

[Karaulov] Honestly?

[Primakov] Honestly!

[Karaulov] Just what is Soviet intelligence?

[Primakov] A powerful political mechanism with an enormous potential... First of all, I have the people in mind. They have the ability to think well. They are dedicated to the country and to their work. Because here, you realize... we have a kind of artificial break—democratism and patriotism. For some reason, it is believed that only a person who is "not sick" with patriotism can become a democrat, and who feels himself to be "a person of the entire land..." But, after all, this is not so.

[Karaulov] Intelligence functioned flawlessly under Kryuchkov?

[Primakov] It is difficult to find a mechanism that works flawlessly in society, and which was beyond reproach on the whole. It is clear now that the army also was not, as they say, at the highest level, especially in the matter of discipline. Intelligence, perhaps, was set up better than the other state mechanisms, but this is natural, because it stands by itself somewhat, and there are more professionals in it.

[Karaulov] Will the number of intelligence officers abroad remain the same as under Kryuchkov? Or will there be fewer employees there, nonetheless, than now?

[Primakov] Fewer. I can firmly say, fewer. At the same time, I would like the new image of intelligence, which we are working on, not to be associated with the KGB at all.

[Karaulov] But this is impossible.

[Primakov] Why? We know how "State Security" was understood in the KGB. But intelligence is not the point here (or almost not the point). Recently, I was asked at a press conference: Are we continuing to listen in Moscow to foreign journalists? It does not occur to many that this absolutely is not a matter for foreign intelligence. Now: You raised the question about the numerical size of intelligence, and about its scale. The principle of reasonable sufficiency should exist. I am categorically against any "percentage norms." It is impossible to introduce percentages and to reduce people under them.

[Karaulov] But what makes up...

[Primakov] Intelligence?

[Karaulov] No. The principle of reasonable sufficiency.

[Primakov] Many functions are falling away. Recently, for example, one of the purely formal programs was abolished. Our people reported every two weeks to Moscow from various points on the globe: There is no visible evidence "on the horizon" that in the next few days or hours the United States will deliver a nuclear missile strike on the Soviet Union. Some journalists (Nevzorov in particular) got confused: This is not an early warning system. The missile launch warning system of the Ministry of Defense will exist until there are no more nuclear missile weapons in the world. It is necessary. But here simply for a "blip": We are on alert... A lot of money was spent for this. After all, the very same people—I do not hide this—could be engaged in more important work: For example, trace the processes that in the United States and other countries can objectively lead to a certain destabilization of the situation. I do not have in mind their leading circles. (I do not want to suspect anyone at all.) But, after all, it is necessary to see how those critical technologies are developing (frequently dual purpose), which, incidentally, could also be exported to third countries. We must know this. Another aspect is the fight against international terrorism. Here, I think, everything is clear. Further, economic intelligence, which helps to study partners and to see that, to put it vulgarly, they do not rob us.

[Karaulov] But, after all, they are robbing, Yevgeniy Maksimovich.

[Primakov] But we will try so that this does not happen. Of course, this is not the fault of intelligence, but of our comrades who are ready to get into commerce, and in the embrace of the devil, just to receive some dollars. Intelligence does not control them, and it is not our affair, but if we see "from this end" that some kinds of operations are being conducted that would damage us, we, naturally, will make this information known...

[Karaulov] But are there symptoms?

[Primakov] There are, and very serious ones.

[Karaulov] In the two months that you have been here, has intelligence carried out large-scale operations about which you could talk?

[Primakov] No, there are none now, but we are working in full contact with the interrepublic security service and the Russian state security.

[Karaulov] In the West, many Soviet residents are known on sight, and they are written about as residents of the KGB. Is this normal?

[Primakov] You know, there is official intelligence, and there is unofficial intelligence. Official intelligence operates under the "cover" of some institutions (that is the way it is in all countries of the world), and it cannot give up such "cover." Official intelligence officers are frequently known in the countries of their stay. But if we are to have working contacts with the CIA, then why hide from them the fact that such and such a person is our resident?

Incidentally, the Americans do this also, when they engage in a dialogue with our intelligence services.

[Karaulov] But will employees of our intelligence remain in embassies and in other Soviet institutions abroad. Or, will they completely come out from under official cover?

[Primakov] No, they will not come out. This will not happen. They will remain.

[Karaulov] They will remain?

[Primakov] But not in the same number as before. This is absolutely unjustified from any standpoint.

[Karaulov] What put you on your guard most of all, when you came here, to Yasenevo?

[Primakov] What did I not like? The fact that the employees always wait for commands "from above." There is little personal initiative.

[Karaulov] What kind of intelligence is it without initiative?

[Primakov] By tradition, intelligence in Russia is a military organization. This has its own pluses (for example, discipline), but there are also minuses that are predetermined by this specific feature... And later, for a long time, too long a time, intelligence was part of the KGB.

[Karaulov] I see. Will the intelligence archives be opened?

[Primakov] They will be, but not those associated with operational work.

[Karaulov] For example, the attempt on the pope of Rome?

[Primakov] I looked into this myself. You can believe me—there are no traces of our participation here.

[Karaulov] But where is there?

[Primakov] There is only one fact—the Bulgarians asked us to choose a lawyer for Antonov. Nothing more.

[Karaulov] Does this mean, Yevgeniy Maksimovich, that this is your last place of work? Or will you end up somewhere else tomorrow?

[Primakov] I say firmly, absolutely firmly: I will be here as long as those on whom it depends do not make another decision. There is no way I can leave and go "to the top," it is enough.

[Karaulov] Were these two years in the Kremlin happy ones?

[Primakov] This is not an easy question: If you are talking about happiness, then participation in any good work (there was good work in these years) is happiness. On the other hand, I could have done more.

[Karaulov] But what interfered?

[Primakov] Many things. The presence of a decision-making system that was not perfected. There is no decisiveness in the executive authority (I do not have in mind illegal methods—you must understand me correctly). Only absolute compliance with laws and the constitution. But decisiveness is needed within these limits. Understand, we have two illnesses, and each is grave in its own way. One is the child's disease of sovereignty. The other, no less dangerous, is the sclerotic, senile disease of centralization.

[Karaulov] They cannot be defeated...

[Primakov] It is necessary. If we do not win, then it is either disintegration of the state, or a return to the past.

[Karaulov] Is it really possible to come to an agreement with Gamsakhurdia over something?

[Primakov] The question should not be put precisely like that. It is necessary to begin the signing of the treaties—first, the economic treaty and, afterwards, a treaty on collective defense, and, then, possibly a political treaty. For those who do not want to sign them, some kind of a period is necessary, let us say, a year and a half. If the sovereign state does not change its decision, the divorce process begins. To each his own, as they say, but with the start of the divorce process we, naturally, will switch to a freely convertible currency.

[Karaulov] What kind of a Union will this be... Without Ukraine, without Georgia?..

[Primakov] Indeed... But I will say to you that Ukraine disturbs me more than Georgia, because without Ukraine... it is even difficult to imagine what this will be.

Well, and Georgia... how will it live? What will it begin to sell? Tea? Tangerines? Where?

Georgia is getting complete independence—I welcome this. But, after all, there is no danger now that Georgia will be suppressed again. In any case, it is independent—either in the Union, in a single economic space, or outside the Union.

Incidentally, in tsarist Russia, its various parts lived absolutely differently. I recently read the memoir sketches of Boris Savinkov, and I was especially amazed that Finland, for example, did not hand over revolutionaries. But, after all, Finland was a part of Russia. But it had, it turns out, a different status.

Why do we not say that the level of integration of the economy in the former USSR is higher than in Western Europe? There are a trillion economic threads that tie everyone and everything together. And we are faced with a dilemma: Either destroy that which we have (cut it all up and then put all of the pieces together), or—as we want—not to cut up, not to spill blood, but to build on market relations, and, moreover, not only the republics should come to an agreement among themselves, but, also, directly, enterprises themselves. Otherwise, we will deliver a blow to market relationships themselves, and we will drive them to such "limits," that they simply will suffocate.

[Karaulov] This means that you do not have a sense of catastrophe?

[Primakov] There is no feeling of historical catastrophe, although it will be necessary, of course, to go through a grave period.

[Karaulov] Are you on friendly terms with Mikhail Sergeyevich?

[Primakov] I am with him... I respect him very much and even like him. Our relations are rather frank, and I can say what I think, and I think he values this.

[Karaulov] Does he like you also.

[Primakov] Well, you had better ask him. I think that he treats me well.

[Karaulov] And he never placed you in an awkward position?

[Primakov] There has to be a very precise distinction here... The objective from the subjective. Objectively, each suddenly can feel that he is placed in a difficult situation. But I do not think that he subjectively wanted to place me in a difficult position.

[Karaulov] But is there anything for which you will never forgive him?

[Primakov] You see what the problem is—I would not forgive Mikhail Sergeyevich or anyone else for words or behavior that would offend my dignity and my feelings... Then... You understand, I have already lived a long time—I will be 62 this year—and I do not think that I should change my principles. I am not an all-forgiving person. I am especially not accommodating. And at the same time I do not see anything serious that could change my attitude toward Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Karaulov] That is interesting. I have been curious about you for a long time, and I asked Sagdeyev and Shatalin about you—all of them said quite pleasant things. Shatalin said: If you need a doctor, for example, call up Primakov—and everything will be in order. On the other hand... there is the opinion that you are a conformist from the category—do you know? "What would you like?.."

[Primakov] Well, it is not for me to judge. Of course, it is pleasant that they talked about me as a good person. But that I am a conformist and feeble... On the contrary, I have been rather frequently accused of excessive toughness and straightforwardness. But I can say without exaggeration (this may seem like self-advertisement to you, or something, although in this case I am simply defending myself): If I was inspired by faith in the justice of some cause, then I did not retreat.

You see, I, for example, was a journalist. Now, those articles that I wrote at one time, of course, do not sound quite right. But, when I was writing then, believe me, I was convinced that I was writing the truth. Nonetheless... as you wish: It is impossible to evaluate the past based on today's principles. This is unfair, And, indeed, the rules were different. In my diploma work (as a student), I quoted Beriya. I wrote about the process of national formation in the Arab East, and I was supposed to find a quote from the "leaders," that would actualize the subject. At the 19th congress of the party, Beriya said that there are socialist nations, and there are bourgeois nations that are total trash, excuse the expression, and I do not understand this now. But I quoted him at that time, as was expected...

[Karaulov] When you were with Husayn, did you not want to take a stick and simply hit him over the head?

[Primakov] No.

[Karaulov] No?

[Primakov] No. I did not want to. Because I thought: Husayn can be persuaded. You understand, it was possible for there not to be a war in the Persian Gulf. While I was present, Mikhail Sergeyevich telephoned Bush and said to him: Everything on which we came to agreement with Tariq 'Aziz (he was then in Moscow) can be combined with your ultimatum; let us convene the Security Council. But the United States were disposed only to a strike.

[Karaulov] To a strike?

[Primakov] Yes. Although, naturally, Saddam Husayn bears the blame for the war.

[Karaulov] Reveal the secret: How generally were you able to speak frankly with Husayn?

[Primakov] You know, I take no credit in this respect. I have known Husayn since 1969. And he knows me well. That is why I spoke to him absolutely frankly.

[Karaulov] But, nonetheless, what was he hoping for?

[Primakov] That they will not strike him. That the Soviet Union would never be together with the United States. That Saudi Arabia would not invite American troops, and that Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria would not join in a coalition with the Americans. In a word, an absolute misunderstanding of the situation, and when I was with him one on one, I told him absolutely frankly: Saddam, they will hit you.

[Karaulov] Is he a strong person?

[Primakov] You see what the problem is, it is a paradox, very likely, but even now after such a colossal defeat, the Iraqi Army is not coming out against its leader. The Kurds are also going to him. This means that Husayn is reality. But in a specific analysis of the situation, Husayn is weak.

[Karaulov] Is religion really strong in him?

[Primakov] I do not think so...

[Karaulov] It is said that you were a bandit in your youth. Is this true?

[Primakov] Not quite—I did not kill, and I did not steal. But I actually grew up in the streets, because my mother (she is a doctor) worked at two jobs, and I, generally, was left to myself. But in Tbilisi, everyone grew up on the street, it is that kind of city...

[Karaulov] I do not know whether you have time to go to book stores...

[Primakov] Previously, I did this much more often.

[Karaulov] Do you watch video?

[Primakov] No, but while I was in Japan, I bought a video player...

[Karaulov] Why not a video recorder?

[Primakov] Not only because a player is cheaper. In general, it is what I need. Honest to God, I still do not know how to turn it on. I call my daughter or grandson. In general, I like detective stories. If you feel like, you can laugh, or you do not have to. Recently, I saw a remarkable cartoon of myself: A fat Primakov is standing in a cloak, he has an academic cap with a tassel, and the cloak has a little sign: "Agent 007 Prime." I liked it. Another cartoon appeared in KOMMERSANT: I was meeting with Kaifu, and in the drawing, I am in a sports T-shirt, and vertically in the form of a hieroglyph, but in Russian letters, it is written: "There is no kaifu [fun] in life..." I then and there sent the artist a bottle of vodka with my calling card and wrote: "There is fun [kaif] in life!" I thought that he would call me up, but, the fellow, apparently, was shy...

Official Transfer of Foreign Ministry Viewed

PM0301111992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Dec 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report by V. Nadein: "New Master in Smolensk Square"]

[Text] It was with gloomy faces—diligently taking down every word as the sole orator spoke—that 80 top officials of the USSR Foreign Ministry listened on Monday evening, 23 December, to dubious congratulations regarding the transfer to Russian jurisdiction, and consequently the RSFSR president's final verdict on their world-renowned institution.

Seated for the first time in the chairman's place in the luxurious conference hall directly beneath a portrait of the crafty-eyed Ilich [Lenin], RSFSR Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev only very slightly sweetened the bitter truth with compliments befitting the event: It is not a matter of an equal union, a voluntary merger, or still less the return of the prodigal republic ministry to the bosom of the more mature and experienced alma mater. It is a matter of already existing Russian diplomacy structures engulfing the organizationally rudderless and in many ways sinful department of a nonexistent power.

A.V. Kozyrev was 37 minutes late in arriving for the pre-announced session, assuming with every justification that none of his former Union Foreign Ministry chiefs—

including First Deputy Minister V. Petrovskiy—would dare to object aloud to what just six months ago would have been considered an unprecedented discourtesy.

Although the new master of the famous high-rise building on Smolensk Square spoke in a very quiet voice, everybody present heard and understood him. Especially as their professional insight was quite sufficient to allow pessimistic forecasts. It is unlikely that Union deputy ministers and main and ordinary administration leaders had been reckoning on acceding to analogous posts occupied by more far-sighted and fortunate colleagues in the Russian Foreign Ministry. But it is one thing to have premonitions, and another to have concrete information. Kozyrev left his listeners in no doubt that he and his former deputies—and he has no intention of either replacing them or diluting their ranks with Union contenders—will select their own staffers from the defunct Union department. How will they be selected? According to professional qualities, of course, as had been stated plainly. But due account will also be taken of how diplomats had behaved at other times. Especially during the August putsch—and Kozyrev spoke quite unequivocally on this score.

The Union Foreign Ministry faces serious cuts, said the minister. One of the permanent staffers let it slip an hour later that at least 800 people will have to leave the building on Smolensk Square soon and join the ranks of the unemployed in order to attain the desired limit of 2,700. Cuts, and more especially personnel changes, will also affect very many Union Foreign Ministry institutions abroad, which became Russian missions at the start of this week.

The minister drew attention to the need to render professional assistance to the still immature diplomacy of former Union republics. As conference participants said while animatedly discussing Kozyrev's announcement in the corridors, a transfer to diplomatic service in new Commonwealth countries may offer an outlet for relatively few specialists. Usually the republics have no difficulty in finding candidates for a trip to Paris or Washington.

None of the participants in this conference showed any desire to enter into debate, and as a result no debate was opened. The assembly marked the end of the Union Foreign Ministry with a spontaneous minute's silence.

Including this minute, the procedure marking this demise lasted less than half an hour.

Republic Presidents Interviewed on New Year

PM0201142592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Reports by correspondents Yuriy Stroganov, Adilbek Kaipbergenov, Armen Khanbabyan, and Yuriy Razgulyayev under general heading: "The Presidents Wish Us..."]

[Text]

Vilnius—Vytautas Landsbergis, president of Lithuania:

[Stroganov] Esteemed Mr V. Landsbergis, congratulations on the forthcoming New Year. What would you wish the peoples of Lithuania in the new year of 1992? Has everything you planned last year come to pass?

[Landsbergis] Much has come to pass and some of it even more rapidly than we supposed. Among these things I include the completion of the restructuring of the enforced USSR into a voluntary commonwealth of fatherland-states. We linked with this process the prospect of restoring the state independence of Lithuania and of the other Baltic countries, which also came to pass last year. The path of our recognition by Iceland and Russia was difficult, each case was marked by casualties...

As early as May I saw our aims as follows: becoming observer participants in the CSCE in September and by March 1992, by the time of Helsinki-2, becoming full CSCE members. The August events led to the second, final, aim in September, including UN membership. In 1992 I wish people in our country and in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] staunchness and restraint and a positive mood with regard to the further major changes beyond which there is a better future.

[Stroganov] For Lithuania to become a prosperous republic it needs not only economic reforms but also consensus among political groups. How do you assess the situation on this plane in Lithuania today? How do you see your personal contribution as the republic's leading politician in achieving consensus?

[Landsbergis] The political groups which advocate independence have now received the freedom to compete—Hannibal is no longer at the gates, the economic reforms which served liberation are increasingly viewed as a convenient field for internal political struggle. That is why if we understand agreement as a relative harmony of opposites and as rivalry within the framework of parliamentary democracy whereby the art of compromise is valued, then I was engaged in that back in "Sajudis" and I may perhaps still be of use.

[Stroganov] In the complex process of acquiring independence a minority of the republic's inhabitants stood on different positions from the Lithuanian parliament, hoping for Lithuania's development within the USSR. Perhaps these people simply did not understand the historical course of development and the social process... Lithuania has become independent and the USSR does not exist. In your view can these people find their place in the new historical reality and make their contribution to the Lithuanian state's further development? Can they look calmly into the future with no fear of any pressure for their past views?

[Landsbergis] A comparatively small proportion of the population wanted to see Lithuania as part of the USSR.

That is it stood on different positions from the overwhelming majority. No one is preventing these people from finding their place in independent Lithuania, particularly if their views were not transformed into actions coming under the criminal code. If laws are adopted on partial restrictions for the former party nomenklatura and KGB staffers then that in no way applies to the views of this category of people. A repressive apparatus is not dissent.

[Stroganov] Please convey your wishes to PRAVDA readers and the newspaper itself.

[Landsbergis] There were let us say unpleasant times when the truth about Lithuania did not appear in PRAVDA, but there was libel designed to set the peoples against each other. Thank you to the readers who did not believe and cordial wishes to all, including the newspaper, that this no longer happens. We must develop solidarity and mutual understanding and the new times in fact favor that. [Stroganov report ends]

Tashkent—Islam Karimov, president of the Republic of Uzbekistan:

History so arranged it that in the last days of the year the last rites, so to speak, were being administered to the former USSR in Minsk, Ashkhabad, and Alma-Ata. The Commonwealth of Independent States was formed. On 29 December in our republic, in Uzbekistan, the overwhelming majority of citizens with the right to vote confirmed the correctness of the course toward independence.

I should like in the New Year to voice one more major wish for the peoples of the former Union, now independent states: That in no circumstances they allow interethnic quarrels, destroy the ties and relations formed over decades, or permit one people to be set against another. That is my biggest request also for the people living in Uzbekistan. Only by preserving the wisdom and discipline inherent in all peoples will we be able to achieve our lofty goal—the welfare of each person. The objective prerequisites are there: an industrious people, natural resources, the interest of foreign entrepreneurs. Our hope is also the 48 percent of the population which consists of children under 16.

I want to stress once more that we all need order and calm—that is the basis of our future, including a democratic future. [Kaipbergenov report ends]

Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of the Republic of Armenia

"For Armenia 1991 was a time of harsh and grave ordeals. The new year of 1992 will hardly be any easier for it. And nonetheless the Armenians, even in our grim days, do not lose their optimism—the grains of hope must unfailingly produce good, clean shoots. Moreover, in this very complex situation they have the spiritual generosity to address warm words to those who are also having a hard time today."

When our correspondent Armen Khanbabyan asked Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan what was his attitude to PRAVDA, he replied—and let us thank him for that—very succinctly and honestly:

"In a democratic society each newspaper has its own place and its own readership."

May his words come true! [Khanbabyan report ends]

Bishkek—Askar Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan:

"For the people of Kyrgyzstan 1991 was both hard and happy. All the hardships and upheavals which shook the former Union did not bypass our small republic.

"But nonetheless we believe that this was a happy time. The republic began the year as a member of the Union, a member without rights. We are greeting the new year of 1992 as an independent sovereign state recognized by many very large countries. I believe that we can be proud of that.

"But what of the difficulties? Of them I shall say simply that we should spend less time talking and trying to persuade each other. It is high time we worked.

"That is why next year we are faced with a very complex task—changing people's mentality, educating in them responsibility for their fate, and arousing interest in creation. We shall do this—and no difficulties will hold any terror for us. And I firmly believe that Kyrgyzstan will achieve its goal and will unfailingly by happy and wealthy."

Ligachev Interviewed on Political Situation

LD2812184491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0430 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Interview with Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, former member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by announcer Mikhail Solntsev in Moscow—live]

[Excerpt] [Solntsev] We are continuing our program from a different studio, that of the former Vremya program, and the guest on our program is Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, a former member of the Politburo. Good morning, Yegor Kuzmich.

[Ligachev] Good morning, comrades.

[Solntsev] Yegor Kuzmich, here is my first question to you: How do you assess the current situation in the country?

[Ligachev] I would like to note the following in this regard. The situation is fairly complex and serious, and the misfortune, Mikhail Vladimirovich, is probably that the situation is deteriorating. That is the most important point. Moreover, the situation is deteriorating in literally all directions. Naturally, the question always arises: What's it all about, why is it happening? I have my own views on this, as one of the former leaders—of whom there are a lot now. Let our viewers judge how accurate all this is.

In my opinion, the misfortunes that have befallen our country and the sufferings and deprivations that the people are experiencing are explained by a retreat from, or I would say a change in, the whole political line that was thought up in 1985. After all, we began it, under the influence of society, the people, in order to reform the Soviet system, to improve the existing social system. It was absolutely the correct direction: to exploit the immense potential inherent in our system on the basis of democracy. But what is actually happening now is a reorientation of the political line.

What is going on? We are no longer dealing with reform; rather, what is happening is that the social system is being replaced. Democracy is being restricted. In particular, the notion that the activity of Soviets should be suspended is already being put forward. Replacement is going on in the executive and elected authorities in some places, through all manner of appointments—in other words, democratic principles are being violated, to all intents and purposes. Replacement is going on in the executive authorities through all manner of mayors, governors, prefects, and so on.

Then there is the ban on the Communist Party. After all, it was the party, and not just anybody, which initiated a multiparty system. We have now returned, effectively, to the old days, in the sense of a one-party structure, and the activities of the CPSU have been banned. I do not think there can be any talk of consolidating society if we split that society. Incidentally, if we want to consolidate society at all, the first thing we must do is annul all decrees connected with the ban on the activities of the Communist Party. Let the party compete and participate freely in the whole of public and political life.

Finally, there is one more factor. The people expressed their desire to preserve the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Meanwhile, processes are going on that do not take account of the people's opinion.

[Solntsev] There was once a joke, which you must have known about: Yegor, you are not right. Looking back, where were you not right? Do you have any regrets?

[Ligachev] I think I do, because events are developing in a completely different direction. What I have said now, dear viewers, is not the fruit of my reflections in the year and a half and even more since my retirement. It was what I thought in 1987, 1988, and 1989 too.

We had very serious differences on many issues not connected with the strategy of the policy, but from the point of view of methods and tactics. But now, in effect, the strategic line is already changing. Where I think I was not right is that I did not use all my opportunities to influence the party aktiv and its leadership, my comrades who worked with me in the Politburo, on many issues, issues connected with our history and the view of history, issues connected with our party and its ideological and organizational unity and issues connected with types of ownership and forms of economic management.

There were other issues, such as issues connected with combining the plan and the market. I stand firmly by these views, as I did then. There were also issues connected with the attitude to the Army and the law-enforcement bodies, the issues of the development of genuine, socialist democracy, the issues of socialist pluralism, the issues of socialist forms of public activity, and issues connected with the events in Eastern Europe. We had fairly serious differences, serious and differing points of view, on these issues. Unfortunately, I did not succeed. I am guilty of this before my comrades, and I feel my own guilt here—that I did not manage to exert enough influence to make it possible to take perestroyka back to the channel, the direction, and the reference points set by the party back in 1985.

[Solntsev] It somehow used not to be the thing to ask or even to talk about what relations were like in the top echelon of the party leadership, the Politburo. Can you now tell us what those relations were like between the members of the Politburo and the general secretary?

[Ligachev] I would like to tell you that we had fairly free relations, free in the sense that each of us could express and advocate his opinion. But unfortunately, not enough attention was always paid to that opinion. On political matters, matters connected with the course of the changes or the shaping of our society, we had fairly diverse points of view. Therefore, we found ourselves on different banks, as they say, on different sides, so we were not together. That is how it happened that the membership of the leading body of the party and of the state as a whole, as we shall say now, has been changing at immense and, I would say, breakneck speed in the past year.

Just look, in the last year alone the Union government has actually been reorganized four times, not from the point of view of its membership—you could understand and accept that—but from the point of view of its structure: the Council of Ministers, the Cabinet of Ministers, the Committee for Operational Management of the Economy, and finally—I don't think they managed to implement it, but it was planned—the so-called Interstate Economic Council, although perhaps it will come about. Now, evidently, there will be a council of heads of states and a council of heads of government. Of course, it is hard to expect success with such endless reorganization.

Blockade of PRAVDA Offices Not Yet Lifted

PM0201141992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Dec 91 p 1

[Announcement by PRAVDA staffers: "Blockade of PRAVDA Still Not Lifted"]

[Text] The promises which the leadership of the Pressa Publishing House made as long ago as last Friday, 20 December, to remove the militia posts and restore the telephones and lights have fallen flat. Padlocks still hang on the doors leading to the 10th floor and are "guarded" by the militia.

A. Loidis, deputy of Moscow City Soviet and a contributor to PRAVDA, visited the editorial office yesterday. Together with employees of the newspaper he attempted to make his way to the 10th floor by showing his deputy's mandate. The deputy's path was barred by a militiaman: "Not even you may go any further..."

Some of the telephones on the ninth floor have still not been reconnected. It is impossible to work in many offices after dinner—it is dark, and there is no electricity.

Such measures violate the rights of editorial office employees.

TASS Reviews 2 Jan TV Evening News

LD0201231792 Moscow TASS in English
2255 GMT 2 Jan 92

["News-Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 2 TASS—This evening television news focused on price liberalisation in Russia and the situation in Georgia.

Moscow shops scared Muscovites with bare shelves rather than high prices, a commentary by the Novosti programme points out.

"We have not yet sensed all the delights of free price formation," the news reader emphasised. Economists predict prices will keep skyrocketing. The amount of goods with which to fill empty store shelves is not yet available. One gets the impression that the new Russian Government did not prepare for today, the programme emphasises.

The Vesti newscast thinks prices will be freed this way or another across the former Soviet Union. Russia's partners in the Commonwealth of Independent States, at least some of them, would be willing not to lift price controls, but in this case goods and products will pour to Russia from their republics. The synchronised price liberalisation was thus assured.

Tension continues to run high in Tbilisi. A commentary by the Vesti newscast voices apprehension that fighting will engulf the entire city soon. The Georgian television announced that the president of the republic was removed from power, parliament dissolved and a Military Council headed by Tengiz Kitovani and Dzhaba Ioseliani was set up, the Novosti programme reports. Tengiz Siguya was appointed as prime minister. A curfew was imposed in Tbilisi.

All troops stationed in Ukraine, with the exception of strategic nuclear forces, are transferred to the direct control of the Ukrainian president and the Defence Ministry beginning Friday [3 January], Vesti reports. A working group entitled to compile the list of units, which are part of the Commonwealth of Independent States' strategic forces, will meet in Kiev.

Russian Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun predicted it will take two to three years for the new economic management system to work. "I think we will be able to meet the country's needs in the types of products we can produce ourselves by 1995," he said in an interview with the Vesti newscast. Khlystun thinks the economic plan for the year 1991 was scuttled. Cattle is cut because of the shortage of fodder, milk yield is falling and the food tax did not justify itself.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met Claiborne Pell, chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, today, Vesti reports. The talk focused on control of nuclear weapons on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Pell said in a Vesti interview the issue has been solved as successfully as it could be solved.

News programmes report presidential rule was introduced in several areas of Azerbaijan because of the aggravation of the situation in several parts of the republic. Fighting between Armenian and Azerbaijani gunmen continues.

The Novosti programme reports referring to a statement by Moldovan National Security Minister Anatol Plugar that border troops stationed on this republic's territory would finally pass over to the control of the Moldovan National Security Ministry. He said a re-unification of Moldova and Romania will probably happen.

Both news programmes denied reports that St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak may resign.

Carries 3 Jan Press Review

LD0301081292 Moscow TASS in English
0749 GMT 3 Jan 92

["Moscow Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Moscow newspapers write today about the liberalisation of prices, that was started in Russia on Thursday, and point out that the amount on goods on store shelves has not increased so far.

Follow some of the headlines from the front pages of the newspapers: "Prices Are Not Free, They Are Mad" (RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA), "This Is Freedom, But Not the One We Were Dreaming Of" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA), "Empty Shelves Along With New Prices" (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA), "So, Prices Are Free; But Will This Increase the Volume of Goods?" (PRAVDA), "New Prices Have Not Scared Buyers" (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA).

"So, the liberalisation of prices, the need for which has been stressed by economists for months, has become a reality. This is hardly any reason to rejoice. But the first day of trade in new conditions showed that buyers—and the whole of the nation are buyers—showed that they feel not only anxiety, but also hope. They hope that the calculations of the government are correct, and the crisis will be overcome in the long run," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

"Perhaps, the most dangerous aspect of this experiment is that it may put Russia against its partners by the Commonwealth of Independent States and may increase separatist trends inside the federation," SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA believes. "A single currency unit is being preserved, and the emission bank continues to be in the hands of the Russian leadership. In these conditions the liberalisation of prices in Russia not only makes a strong negative impact on Russia's neighbours, but also turns them into helpless hostages of our exprimenters."

TRUD carries an interview with Andrey Nechayev, Russian first deputy minister of economy and finances. He believes that "after the soaring of prices as a result of their liberalisation, the subsequent inflation will be high, but not catastrophic. In spring and summer it will stand at about 10 per cent a month. It will be a controllable process and not hyperinflation." Nechayev forecasts economic stabilisation in 1993, if there are no upheavals.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes a letter of a group of Russian legislators representing the opposition. They maintain that the economic course chosen by the present Russian government, "which is being rejected by the majority of the people, does not make it possible to implement the economic reforms which are needed so badly. Moreover, it will result in the deepening of the crisis." The legislators urge citizens of the Russian Federation to insist on the resignation of the present government as soon as possible and suggest that the president form a new "government of national confidence," which will be able to implement the economic reforms "in the interests of the majority of Russia's citizens."

PRAVDA continues to analyse the results of the Minsk meeting of heads of member states of the new Commonwealth. It points out: "The Minsk meeting revealed some alarming trends. For instance, it is not clear what makes the essence of the Commonwealth. It is not the successor of the Soviet Union, it is very difficult to coordinate actions with some of the presidents.... Then what is the essence—complete independence? If so, we have destroyed one centre and received ten small centres in capitals of the former Union republics. After destroying one totalitarian system, we shall get a dozen of similar systems in the independent states. By all appearances, this is not what we were working for."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA comments on Ukraine's decision to take under its control part of the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union. "It is not difficult to forecast the consequences of the manoeuvering of the Ukrainian leadership: The existing system of army supply and control, although it is far from perfect, will be destroyed, and they will not manage to create a new one. The threat of losing control over the Army is quite real.... The consequences of these developments may be most sad both for Ukraine and other states, which are expected to be independent."

Lieutenant General Petr Chaus, recently appointed defence minister of Belarus, said in an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "We are in no hurry to create the ministry's structures, because we do not want to spoil everything by unnecessary haste." According to General Chaus, the strength of the republican army will be about 90,000.

Newspapers continue to give wide coverage to armed clashes in Tbilisi.

"One may like or dislike Zviad Gamsakhurdia. But the tragedy is that it is this very nation that elected him to the post of its president. By rising in arms against him, even for the sake of restoring democratic principles, the opposition not only violated the law and the constitution, but also set itself against the majority of the nation.... This is the main danger.... Now that the Soviet Union has ceased to exist and the Commonwealth of Independent States has been formed, we have a number of independent states, in which opposition groups may wish to redistribute power. Is there any guarantee that they will not follow those who are now shelling the house of government in the centre of Tbilisi?" PRAVDA writes.

Commonwealth Affairs

Minsk Functions as Coordinating Center

PM0201153192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 92 First Edition pp 1,2

[Article by correspondent Aleksey Yeroshenko: "Minsk Has Begun Functioning"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belarus capital has begun to function as the coordinating center of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. All last week the bosses of offices at Government House were working overtime. That is demonstrated by the enormous package of draft agreements prepared for discussion and signing. They number around 30. And they are all arguably of the utmost urgency.

One can hardly belittle the significance of the acts relating to the principles and policy of the social protection of the CIS states' citizens, the protection of the rights of migrants and refugees, the introduction of national currencies, and coordination in the sphere of taxes and price liberalization. Compared with them, however, the problems of creating the Commonwealth's working institutions, their budget, the mechanism and procedure for coordinating domestic and foreign policy activity, as well as the complex of military-political problems, especially those connected with nuclear weapons, really seem like icebergs. They were the ones which occupied the bulk of the working time of the independent states' leaders gathered in Minsk. For a day hundreds of domestic and foreign journalists had no official information on the course of work because none of the documents had been approved. Even though according to schedule work was due to end by 1300 hours. It was not until late in the evening that nine of them relating to the heads of states and six relating to heads of governments were signed and sealed in accordance with the laws of each republic and the principles of the Alma-Ata declaration.

Now a special mention on the dramatic scenario and lessons of the first working meeting of the leaders of the young Commonwealth of Independent States. As is evident, it was not without its growing pains. The resultant finale was like this. The Strategic Armed Forces have been given a single command subordinate to the Council of the Heads of State within which the Council of the states' defense ministers will function and prepare defense policy. Until the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, decisions on their use are made by the president of the Russian Federation in coordination with Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan on condition of consultation with the heads of the CIS participants.

On conventional Armed Forces the right of each state either to direct them autonomously or to merge into a single command has been confirmed. That outcome was influenced by the positions of Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova, which voted in principle for autonomy on this question. Special status is being given to border troops. Colonel General Kalinichenko, their recently appointed commander in chief, has been given two months to conclude the corresponding agreements with all the Commonwealth participants on the protection of external state borders.

The approach to preparing the title of the structure and sources of finance of the working group for the organization of the technical preparation and holding of the Council of heads of states and heads of governments of the Commonwealth is defined by a special protocol. The principles of the economic reform, its pace, timetable, and main provisions have been agreed. As for their actual content, in particular privatization, that is the individual affair of each state in accordance with its internal laws. However, the discussion of the principles of the Commonwealth's charter has still not led to anything because it can only be clearly elaborated if the corresponding documents are prepared.

Minsk awaits the continuation of the dialogue.

Point of Contention Arises Over Embassies

PM0201141392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from the "News" Roundup: "Embassies' Property—The Same for All"]

[Text] The majority of participants in the meeting of Commonwealth [CIS] heads of state in Minsk expressed disagreement with Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's position that Russia may give the CIS member states an opportunity to make use of the property and premises of embassies and consulates. As the Azerbaijan president's press secretary has reported, the republics insisted on the distribution of this property of the former Union on the basis of certain criteria, particularly economic criteria. The solution of this question has been deferred to the next meeting of CIS states' foreign ministers, scheduled for 10 January.

NATO-Type Military Alliance Advocated

PM3012164191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by S. Rogov, deputy director of United States and Canada Institute: "CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Needs Military Alliance of the NATO Type"]

[Text] The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is no more, but the USSR Armed Forces exist, and it is impossible not to see this. We lead the whole world in terms of the quantity of ground armaments, and we also look very impressive in terms of other types of arms.

Today our Army numbers about 4 million servicemen (not counting internal, border, and railroad troops), 100 Ground Forces divisions, plus the same number of divisions and corps in the Air Forces, Air Defense Forces, Strategic Rocket Forces, and Airborne Troops. We have in our arsenal over 10,500 combat aircraft (not counting 162 strategic heavy bombers), about 56,000 tanks, almost 65,000 armored fighting vehicles, a little under 90,000 artillery pieces, over 700 warships and 59 strategic submarines, and also over 1,300 ICBM's. There are approximately 10,000 strategic nuclear warheads and twice as many tactical nuclear warheads on our soil.

Billions for Self-Destruction

Can one country oppose the entire world community? Of course not, no one could endure such excessive strain. And our economy eventually collapsed. In the first nine months of 1991 the revenue of the defunct Union was approximately 80 billion rubles [R], and the official military spending was R73 billion. In total this year the defense budget is supposed to reach over R108 billion.

The former leaders of the Defense Ministry and military industry, who resisted any reductions in their programs, are to blame for this situation. Today Russia has pledged to assume defense expenditure, but is it capable of bearing alone a burden that proved too much for all 15 former Union republics?

The budget request for 1992 of the Defense Ministry of the former USSR envisaged allocating R105 billion. But that is in 1991 prices. Given the planned liberalization, that sum will have to be increased at least four or five times over. Admittedly, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and certain other states have expressed a readiness to take part in financing the troops stationed on their territories. But only a little over 10 percent of our military spending goes on servicemen's pay and allowances, the rest goes on arms and equipment purchases, research and development, and construction. So the brunt still falls on Russia, which has almost 80 percent of the infrastructure of the military-industrial complex on its territory.

The problem is so complex that the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads of government were able to agree on financing military programs for just one month. What happens then—a free-for-all? Does this not mean that it will be necessary to divide up the Armed Forces?

You Cannot Just Divide Them Up

Incidentally, this idea is becoming increasingly popular. It looks as though the former republics are not afraid of the cost of maintaining their own armies. There are 100 states in the world which are inferior to Ukraine or Uzbekistan in terms of their economic potential but nevertheless have their own armies—that is clearly how the republics argue.

On the other hand, under the terms of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) the Soviet Union is allowed to have 13,000 tanks in the European part of the country. And 10,000 of them are on the USSR's western borders, that is, in Ukraine and Belarus. How is the Soviet quota to be allocated when the tanks are so unevenly distributed? It will clearly be necessary to calculate a balance of forces between the newly independent states. A venture that might explode the treaty.

There are many arguments against the creation of republics' own armies, but they seemingly do not make the proper impression on many Commonwealth members. It looks as though no one believes in the hypothetical external threat. But they see the Soviet Army on their soil as a very real threat. January and August, when tanks moved against constitutional governments, intensify their suspicions.

So in a number of republics the process of forming their own armed forces (national or republican guards, carabineers, and so forth) is in full swing. Once again, it was no accident that in Alma-Ata the CIS leaders could reach agreement on retaining unified command of the former USSR's Armed Forces only until the end of this year.

The Idea of a "NATO" Is in the Air

Is there an alternative to dividing up the USSR's Armed Forces? The declaration on the creation of the CIS speaks of preserving a common military-strategic area under unified command, of the sides' agreement to guarantee the activity of strategic armed forces, and of unified control over nuclear weapons. If you decipher the diplomatic language of the document, it is a question of creating a defensive alliance, a military-political alliance of the NATO type.

What is the North Atlantic alliance? Above all it means equal rights for all the alliance's members and the adoption of all decisions on the basis of the principle of unanimity. This ensures that all alliance members fulfill the decisions. Then there is the existence of political coordination organs such as the NATO Council, which control the Organization's military structure and appoint the NATO supreme allied commander Europe and other top military leaders. The principle of collectiveness is also retained in the top military-political organs, including the Military Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group.

The armed forces themselves consist of troops placed under allied command and troops under national command. Iceland does not have an army at all, and France is not a member of the North Atlantic bloc's military organization and keeps all its Armed Forces under national command, but fully recognizes its commitments regarding mutual assistance in the event of aggression.

The "cold war" is over, but new security mechanisms for the multipolar world have not yet been created. Of course, no one seemingly intends to attack us. But unless the "common military-strategic area" (of the CIS) is filled with appropriate structures, what will emerge is a dangerous vacuum and the prospect of the "Balkanization" of the former Soviet Union. The Commonwealth will have to elaborate some type of collaboration on the basis of coordination between equal partners in creating the structures of a defensive alliance.

First, during the transitional period this structure must ensure civilian political control over the Armed Forces, which remain "ownerless" as a result of the cessation of the activity of the top state organs of the USSR.

Second, it is necessary to prevent the independent [samostiynyy] seizure of components of the military structure and confrontation between troops subordinate to different commands. The example of Yugoslavia (and unfortunately Georgia) graphically shows what this kind of "pluralism" leads to.

Third, we must ensure unified control over all nuclear arms, both tactical and strategic.

Fourth, we must guarantee the "man with the rifle" legal status and social protection and not turn him into a pariah in his own country. A mutiny by demoralized and desperate people who realize that no one wants them is a real danger.

A military-political alliance of the NATO type is also outlined in B.N. Yeltsin's recent statements. He advocated the creation of Joint [obyedinennyy] Strategic Armed Forces, which would include, besides all strategic components and tactical nuclear arms, the Navy, Air Force, Airborne Troops, and also Ground Forces on the territory of Russia and maybe certain other states. These would form the strategic mobile reserve of the Commonwealth's defense system. The Joint Strategic Armed Forces should also include Soviet troops on the territory of foreign states—Germany, Poland, the Baltic countries.

The highest organ of this alliance would be the Council of CIS heads of state, under whose leadership coordination organs to plan and implement a joint military policy could operate. The former republics would be represented in these organs on a basis of parity and decision-making would be unanimous. As for nuclear planning, the discussion of these questions could (as in NATO) take place with the participation of all CIS member states, although the direct responsibility for implementing nuclear policy would be incumbent on Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Belarus and control of the nuclear button would be in the hands of the president of Russia, which in the course of the reductions in strategic and tactical nuclear weapons would become the only nuclear state within the CIS.

Let's Do Without a "Maginot Line"

Then the CIS and its member states would have no need to build a "Maginot line." We would threaten no one and would not exhaust ourselves preparing for unrealistic scenarios envisioning simultaneous war in west, south, and east. But every Commonwealth member state could expect the allies to prevent encroachments on its "space."

It is not the CIS member states which want to create their own Armed Forces outside the structure of the Joint Strategic Armed Forces that can do this, including by agreeing on the transfer to them of some of the Soviet Army divisions and armaments stationed on their territory. [sentence as published] But this must certainly be done not independently, but on the basis of special agreements and with due regard for the interests of other Commonwealth members.

Clearly, the process of forming autonomous armies under the jurisdiction of independent states will take at least one or two years, while draftees from other republics are replaced, the officer corps is recruited, and staffs and rear structures are created. The quantitative levels for the autonomous armies must certainly be determined in the light of the former USSR's commitments under the CFE treaty and on the basis of relevant accords between CIS members.

As for the Joint Strategic Armed Forces, they will have to be reorganized and expenditure will have to be substantially reduced by ending massive purchases of series-produced armaments. At the same time it is necessary to ensure adequate military research and development appropriations in order to maintain defense capability, and spending on paying personnel must become the main article in the budget of the Joint Strategic Armed Forces. There is scarcely an alternative to reducing the strength of the joint forces to 1.5-2 million men. While in principle the independent member states of the CIS can retain the draft for their armed forces, the Joint Strategic Armed Forces will be manned on a volunteer basis, on contract. Clearly, Ukraine too would be able to agree to this option provided that it was granted special status (similar to that of France) on questions of conventional forces.

A Treaty on Joint Defense Among the CIS Member States would make it possible to transform the common military-strategic area into a "Soviet NATO" that would not only certainly be able to regulate the process of the transformation of Soviet might in the interests of all members of the Commonwealth but would also create the prospect of merging with the existing NATO via the Helsinki process or else via the recently created North Atlantic Cooperation Council. A prospect of participation in security systems in the Asian-Pacific region would also open up. Finally, the CIS, by virtue of its central geopolitical position, could play a key role in forming a global security system under UN auspices.

Of course, our "Eurasian NATO" should not blindly ape our Western neighbor. At the same time we should not reinvent the bicycle and make ourselves the subjects of another experiment whose political consequences could be unpredictable. The only alternative to a "Soviet NATO" could be attempts to resurrect a monolithic center or an agonizing and dangerous sharing out of the "Soviet military legacy."

Documents Demonstrate 'Pitiful Productivity'

PM0301115992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Vladimir Nadein: "More Haste, Less Speed: On the Results of the Minsk Meeting"]

[Text] No one expects crystal purity from politicians in the assessment of their own successes. If they do not sing their own praises, who else will? But there is a limit beyond which optimism turns from a feeling of radiance into stubborn disinformation.

You can understand the wish of the heads of states and governments who met in Minsk 30 December not to spoil the New Year mood for themselves or other people. Their intention not to harm the future of the still puny new-born Commonwealth by an injudicious word is quite natural.

However, the real results of the Minsk meeting contrast so sharply with the soporific equability of the heads of states' news conference that familiar images begin appearing in the memories of people who have still not completely forgotten the great achievements of communist propaganda.

It is clear to everyone who closely follows the processes of the invariably weakening links between the former republics of the Soviet Union how complex the task is. No examples, no foreign prototypes can be a reliable model for decisions. Dozens of problems confront the Commonwealth. Each one is a monster: from the division and upkeep of the largest army in the world to the coordination of the stages of the economic reform, in which there is already much uncertainty.

And all this directly affects the interests of millions of people. People are hearing comforting words. About transparent borders. About a ruble zone. About a single command. About Chernobyl. About the Aral Sea.

If the borders remain transparent and penetrable by the ruble, there is no reason to fuss over the fellow countrymen from across the border in need of help returning home. If there is no money reform, it makes sense to refrain from buying chickens at 150 rubles. If the Commonwealth finds the money for the Aral Sea and Chernobyl you need not sell your home. And so forth.

Close analysis of the documents signed in Minsk demonstrates a pitiful productivity. A real step toward the Commonwealth has not been made. They shied away from the problems like a surgeon from a hopeless patient: They made an incision and then sewed up the cut again.

How is this "joint document" to be assessed? "It is agreed that the governments of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and the Republic of Uzbekistan will prepare a special agreement on the problems of the Aral Sea and the government of the Republic of Armenia likewise on the problems of clearing up after the earthquake in Spitak."

A host of questions arise straight away. For example, what does the phrase "it is agreed" mean? And is it possible not to agree that any government, even if it does not enter the Commonwealth, will prepare for general information any document affecting its interests? And what do the governments intend to do after preparing the special agreement? Help Armenia in the same way?

And the television service... Do the heads of government still hope for joint control of a single channel? Does Turkmenia nurture the hope of wielding influence at Ostankino? Can it, from its own Ashkhabad, give an apartment in Moscow to a homeless journalist? And will the money that it receives for advertising in a broadcast dedicated to an entrancing oasis come from the common fund or will it go straight to the south? Finally, how will the Kazakhs express their attitude toward such an innovation as the New Year's greetings to the former Soviet people entrusted to Mikh. Zadornov, the darling of the Moldovan boondocks?

But when all these questions dry up, there will be just one answer to them all: This is a joke. It was a joke to go to Minsk when the documents were so poorly prepared and when the materials had been so poorly studied at expert level.

More haste, less speed. Virtually all the adopted documents gape with emptiness and impotence. The only exceptions are the purely organizational papers. It is not very difficult to create a council of heads of states—they are heads, after all, it doesn't take much effort. But there has been no progress with the ruble. There is simple evidence of that: Belarus is hastily following the Ukraine and switching to coupon money. It is even very likely that the independent states are now embarking on a race with one another—to see who can ditch the ruble first.

And as always the devil takes the hindmost.

Economic

Yavlinskiy Cited on Soviet Economic Figures

PM0201110192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent S. Agafonov: "'Yavlinskiy Week' in Tokyo"]

[Excerpts] Tokyo—I shall begin with the fact that in Tokyo Grigoriy Yavlinskiy was not asked questions of the type which are popular in our country and have already become tedious, such as "whom do you represent?", although he arrived in the Japanese capital a week ago, after the Soviet Union had been buried in Belovezhskaya Forest. [passage omitted]

As it is customary to say, the "visit as a whole passed successfully" and could have serious proposals which the sides have agreed not to make public for a while. In conclusion it remains for me to cite a few figures on the state of our economy which have so far not reached a wide readership in our country but which were announced at the concluding press conference on the results of the Tokyo trip. It seems to me that they are not only food for thought for the Japanese but are also a help to us "in our meditations." And so, quoting to G. Yavlinskiy, about the Soviet economy at the end of 1991:

—the reduction in the GNP will be 15 percent,

—the reduction of the volume of industrial production will be 8-10 percent,

—the reduction of the volumes of food will be 8-10 percent,

—the decline in the extraction of oil will be 10 percent, coal extraction will decline 11 percent, the generation of electricity has declined 2 percent so far, but will decline further,

—the slump in production in ferrous metallurgy and machine building for the main range of goods will be 10-12 percent, in the chemical industry it will be 15 percent, while in agriculture the decline in the grain crop yield will be 25 percent,

—the reduction in volumes of trade will be 15 percent,

—retail prices rose fourfold over the year and wholesale prices rose 250 percent, the amount of money in circulation double and the internal state debt will reach 1 trillion rubles by the end of the year,

—foreign debts total $83 billion (overall),

—the gold reserve is now in the order of 150 tonnes, but there is a chance that there will be a further 80 tonnes by the end of the year...

If after everything noted above the Japanese side does not refuse to collaborate with us on questions of "strategic economic cooperation" and discusses in a professional manner the terms necessary to deepen and expand Japanese participation then, you will agree, not all is lost. In any case that is what Yavlinskiy believes, and the Japanese believe him.

Living Standards Down; Further Drop Expected

LD2712102691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Living standards in all the sovereign states within the former Soviet Union are on the decline due to reduced production and soaring prices. In the first nine months of this year, consumption of material benefits and services by the people fell by 17%. Economists forecast that next year, after the deregulation of prices, living standards may drop by another third. They believe that only fast conversion to market relations can improve the situation. The economists name as priority measures speedy privatisation and drawing on foreign investments into the economy.

Air, Railroad Transport Situation Viewed

PM3112144791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2210 GMT 26 Dec 91

[Report by B. Baryshnikov; from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] [Baryshnikov] At present there is no fuel at 55 airports of the former USSR, and at 57 airports there are only limited quantities of fuel. And that means that air connections with more than 110 cities are either impossible or difficult. We were told at the Civil Aviation Air Traffic Service Center that the situation can be saved only with the help of the fuel suppliers of the army and other departments. Talks with them are under way.

The availability of aircraft seats during the remaining days of December and the first few days of January is also poor. This applies above all to flights to the Far East and the Far North, Western Siberia, and the Caucasus and Transcaucasia. Nonetheless, civil aviation leaders are nurturing a hope that the situation in the sector will improve in January.

Now to the situation in railroad transport.

[V. Zakharenko, first deputy chief of the Ministry of Railways Main Transportation Administration] At present all applications from enterprises for transportation are being fully met. As regards passenger transportation, we are constantly in the red. Trains are running late.

[Baryshnikov] Heads of 22 railroads have sent an appeal to the leaders of independent states in Minsk in which they state that it would be impermissible to abolish the existing system for the centralized control of railroad transport. If this were done, they claim, it would result in the paralysis of the Commonwealth countries' entire transport complex.

Gas Ministry 'Not Affected' by 'Depression'

LD3012132691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] The leader of the gas extracting concern, Viktor Chernomirdyn, reports that the gas ministry of the Commonwealth of Independent States has not been affected by the general economic depression. The needs of foreign consumers are satisfied, too. He stressed that practically all enterprises would beat this year's targets for gas extraction. But, the situation in the industry is not easy since the equipment is outdated and there is an outflow of specialists to other economic branches which can offer higher wages, better labor conditions and recreation facilities.

Reactions to Price Hikes Countrywide Viewed

LD0201203192 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 2 TASS—A large self-serve food store on the outskirts of the capital welcomed customers with totally empty shelves on Thursday [2 January] morning. Only in the far corner of the trading hall a rather brisk trade in eggs at twelve roubles a dozen was in progress. One could also buy cooked sausage at 58 roubles, semi-smoked sausage at 108 roubles and chickens at 38 roubles per kilogram.

After half an hour of the food store's being open, only one rather modestly-clad customer bought a loaf of cooked sausage. "I have a five-member family. My children have grown up. This sausage will suffice for only two to three days," he told TASS. "I am a machinery operator and earn 1,200 roubles a month. My wife has been made redundant during a staff cut and she has not yet found a new job. With such prices, we shall not be able to eat sausage every day," he said.

Dispatches by TASS correspondents, who toured state-run, cooperative and commercial shops and some markets of the country, convey shoppers' first impressions of the freeing of prices.

No state of shock was observed among Irkutsk residents, eastern Siberia, on Thursday. Apparently a warning made in advance about the forthcoming liberalisation of prices has had its effect. At any rate, prices on the city market are the same as those before the new year. For example, customers pay unprotestingly 35 roubles for a bucket of potatoes, ten roubles for a litre of milk and three roubles for a glass of tobacco.

New prices were fixed only for mineral water and pearl-barley in a food shop close to the market. The customary picture was observed in the largest green-grocer's shop in downtown area, with onions, sugar beet and salted mushrooms sold at "last year's prices."

"Prices of all available products have already been shaped and we do not intend to raise them," the shop's deputy director Alla Tolstikova, told TASS.

The trading network of another Siberian city Krasnoyarsk with a population of one million also proved utterly unprepared to fully demonstrate the "advantages" of the liberalisation of prices. Three roubles and 60 copecks for a loaf of white bread, 2.5 roubles for a litre of milk, and 11 roubles for a one-kilogram package of vermicelli were the only conspicuous pricing novelties.

All the other foodstuffs apparently have not yet been simply repriced. Besides, a large proportion of state-run shops turned out to be simply closed.

Only several large food and baker's shops were open in Yekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk) on Thursday. They were practically empty. Shop windows displayed Kvass powder at four roubles and 68 copecks per kilogram, breaded rusks at 4.60 roubles, and soap. Shop shelves had available only fresh-frozen capelin at 10.20 and bread at 2.50 roubles and higher.

The residents of the city of Kurgan, western Siberia, did not yet feel in practice the burden of new prices of dairy products on the first post-holiday day. On Thursday morning most of the shops in the city had neither milk, yoghurt, nor ryazhenka (baked-fermented milk).

The emptiness of shop shelves was the outcome of the sluggishness of the trading personnel and lack of control from local authorities who did not get around specifying new prices of all dairy products in advance.

Customers in Khabarovsk were amazed to find many of the city's shops closed for stock-taking today. A roll of rye bread now costs one rouble and ninety two copecks and a loaf of white bread—almost four roubles. Buns became even costlier—five roubles per roll. Cereals and macaroni products, which like last year are rationed, are sold at twice their old cost.

The price of municipal transport services doubled starting today and taxi drivers already charge 40 to 50 roubles per a 10-kilometer run. A visit to the cinema is not cheap either—a ticket for an evening show now costs six roubles.

Following trade on the new year eve, when prices for products, which are in short supply, and beverages for the holiday table climbed rapidly, Vladivostok residents seemed to be hardly surprised by anything. But the very first working morning of the new year virtually shocked them. The conventional loaf of bread is now selling at a price three times higher than before. Many housewives' hope that any difficulties could be coped with if there was bread on the table was dashed. But this price, too, is not the limit. People here do not rule out that a bun will cost ten to fifteen roubles.

It is the first time that residents of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy faced the realities of a market today. New prices make a strong impression but people do not go into shock. The price of butter and mutton went up five times, they now cost 50 and 30 roubles per kilogram respectively. Bread is selling five times higher than before. Cottage cheese could be bought in some food stores at eight roubles per kilogram without standing in a queue and milk—at 1.5 roubles per litre.

However, prices for dairy products differ drastically in shops, which evidently depends on suppliers. The TASS correspondent happened to see soured cream selling at 153 roubles per kilogram and cotton [as received] cheese at 128 roubles. True, no customers were seen at the counter.

"I am sure that shop shelves will be better stocked in the new year, the range and quality of goods will improve but evidently the number of fellow citizens who will not be able to afford many goods will increase," Moldavian Trade Minister Valeriu Bobutsak said in a new year interview.

However, the reality of Kishinev's shops does not promise that Bobutsak's predictions will come true. Most of the food stores were closed this morning. Customers lined up for milk, yoghurt and bread at their doors. But no abundance is seen through shop windows—the self-same bare shelves.

Although prices and tariffs were freed up in Moldavia today, the government of the republic still maintains controls on basic consumer goods and services. For instance, prices for bread, milk and baby food are allowed to go up not higher than three times, prices for medicines, vegetable oil and sugar—four or four and a half times and for burning kerosene and gas—five times.

One kilowatt-hour of electricity will now cost ten copecks in the countryside and fifteen copecks in the city. The government also decreed that the cost of the railway ticket can be raised not more than three-fold and the air ticket not more than five-fold. Only the rent remains the same.

Although prices and tariffs were freed in Ukraine starting from January 2, an exception was made for critical products, goods and services. For instance, the price for Ukrainian oil, oil gas and gas condensate can be increased only eight-fold, natural gas—six- fold, coal—20-fold on an average, heat power for industrial use—eight-fold on an average and electricity—nine-fold on an average.

It will cost five times as much now to transport cargoes by rail, sea and road.

Limits were also imposed on the rise in prices for consumer goods and services provided to the population. For instance, prices for separate types of bread, milk, skimmed yoghurt, margarine, animal and vegetable oils, cereals (pearl, coarse and oat) and baby food cannot increase more than three-fold.

Prices for vodka, alcohol, medicines and articles of medical purpose can surge four times at maximum.

Curbs on price increases will also be imposed on railway transport, communications system, utility and domestic services. The rent remains the same.

Military

Shaposhnikov To Visit Republics on Armed Forces

OW0201171292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov will soon visit Belarus, the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia. According to a trustworthy military source, Marshal Shaposhnikov is, within the next two months, planning to have meetings with leaders of those former Union republics which intend to form their own armed forces.

Political analysts believe these will be difficult negotiations, for it is planned to bring up property and other issues entailed by the division of the armed forces of the former USSR. The greatest concern over these issues is being shown by the Ukraine, which would like to bring all military districts situated on its territory, with all their storehouses and testing grounds, plus the entire Black Sea Fleet, under its jurisdiction.

Today (January 2) a representative of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union, Colonel-General Pyankov, has left for Kiev for preliminary consultations. Some analysts believe there may be tension between Russia and the Ukraine because of their dispute over the aircraft-carrying cruisers Varyag and Ulyanovsk to which both republics are making claims (both vessels are at the moment under construction in the Ukrainian port of Nikolayev and will soon be completed). According to one military expert, the Varyag was intended for the Pacific Fleet and the Ulyanovsk for the Northern Fleet. But whether the cruisers will reach their original destinations or not depends on the outcome of Russo-Ukrainian negotiations on the issue.

'Untoward Tension' Created in Navy, Army

PM0201164592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jan 92 Moscow Evening Edition p 2

[Article by Viktor Litovkin: "The Army Expected Results—It Got New Expectations"]

[Excerpts] Of the four most important military documents agreed and approved by the defense ministers of the 11 states before the Minsk meeting (IZVESTIYA described them in issue 308) the presidents have signed only a part of one of them. That is the Agreement on Strategic Forces and the Agreement on Armed Forces and Border Troops. [passage omitted]

The question of which units and formations of the three military districts and the Black Sea Fleet stationed in Ukraine will be included in its armed forces has not finally been settled, to judge from the documents agreed on in Minsk. It is unclear to whom the troops stationed there will swear the oath or in what form and whose orders ultimately they will obey. And all this, of course, is creating untoward tension in the Navy and the Army.

The very important document that is the Agreement on the Status of the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth stationed on their territories was ignored in Minsk. Will there be such forces? To whom will they be subordinate? Who will finance them? What will happen to those officers who do not want to serve in a "foreign" national army, and where will their families live? All these questions have been left unanswered. [passage omitted]

One brief conclusion may be drawn following these documents: that their content is dictated more by foreign policy interests than by a deep understanding of the defense problems and of the vast and volatile Army inherited from the disintegrating Union. It still has to wait for a statesmanlike, balanced, and competent approach to the solution of its problems. Two months is no deadline for those problems, and where is the guarantee that this will be enough time and that the moment will not be lost?

Results of Minsk Defense Decisions Assessed

PM0301093692 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Article by Colonel P. Chernenko: "Agreements Signed, Questions Remain: On the Results of the Minsk Meeting"]

[Text] At the sociopolitical center on the banks of the Svisloch, where a news conference of the heads of state attending the Minsk meeting was due to take place, journalists waited eight hours for it to begin. It was clear that the talks were not going easily. The suggestion that some of the presidents have their own views, differing from the others, on the questions under discussion was confirmed. All the same, despite the disagreements, the planned documents were signed. There are 15 of them in all.

The results of this meeting are still undergoing analysis and evaluation, but it is already clear that they represent a logical continuation of the Alma-Ata accords. Agreements were signed on the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], on strategic forces, on the Armed Forces and border forces, on joint activity in the exploration and exploitation of outer space...

Doubtless there is no need to list all the documents signed. They will be published in the press. I will only dwell on those concerning the Armed Forces. It is well known that the Alma-Ata meeting did not answer the question: What form should the Armed Forces take—unified or joint? Subsequent events have shown that there can be no question of unified armed forces, since some republics, in particular Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova, have announced the creation of their own armies. Joint [obyedinennyye], then? But again, in what form? Who will control them, and from where? What will their composition be? Their structures? There are a great many questions.

As B. Yeltsin stressed at the press conference, the question of the Armed Forces was the most complex of all those examined. All the same, agreement was reached. It was decided that the Strategic Nuclear Forces will be under unified command, subordinate to the Council of Heads of State.

A very important point is that the precise meaning of the term "strategic forces" is clearly defined. As is well known, there were arguments about this. The term "strategic forces," as the agreement on this matter states, means: large formations, combined units, units, institutions, and military educational establishments of the Strategic Missile Forces, the Air Force, the Navy, Air Defense, the directorate of the chief of space systems, the airborne troops, and strategic and operational intelligence, nuclear technical units, and also forces, resources, and other military facilities intended for control and support of the strategic forces of the former USSR.

The Commonwealth states confirmed their commitment to observe the international treaties of the USSR, pursue a coordinated policy in the sphere of international security, disarmament, and arms control, and participate in the preparation and implementation of arms and armed forces reduction programs.

An accord was reached that until the total elimination of nuclear weapons, the decision on the need to use such weapons is taken by the president of the Russian Federation by agreement with the heads of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Ukraine and in consultation with the heads of the other Commonwealth states.

For the period until their total destruction, the nuclear weapons sited on Ukrainian territory will be under the control of the joint command of the strategic forces, with a view to their nonuse and dismantling [razukomplektovaniye] by the end of 1994, including tactical nuclear weapons by 1 July 1992.

The process of destruction of the nuclear weapons sited on the territory of the Republic of Belarus and Ukraine will take place with the participation of the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine, under the joint monitoring [kontrol] of the Commonwealth states.

And so everything is now more or less clear as regards the strategic forces. Unfortunately, there is far more uncertainty over the solution to questions of conventional arms. The right of every state to create its own armed forces was confirmed at the meeting. As was said above, a number of republics have declared their desire to exercise that right. Ukraine has taken a particularly tough line.

The following compromise was found: The sides agreed, together with Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, to examine and decide within two months the question of the procedure for control of the general-purpose forces taking into account the national legislation of the Commonwealth states, and also the consistency of the Commonwealth states' implementation of their right to create their own armed forces. Beginning 3 January 1992 in the case of Ukraine.

The question of border forces was also examined at the meeting. Colonel General I. Kalinichenko was appointed commander in chief. He was instructed, together with the leaders of the Commonwealth states, within two months to formulate a mechanism for the activity of border forces taking into account the requirements of the national legislation of the Commonwealth states, with the exception of those states with which a mechanism for the activity of border forces has already been agreed.

Those were the basic results of the Minsk meeting on defense questions. How can we assess them? To be frank, there were, of course, expectations that the state of uncertainty in which military people find themselves would end after Minsk. Alas, there are still plenty of unresolved, "open" questions. True, it is clearly naive to expect everything to be resolved at once: Rome was not built in a day. The fact that some agreements are indeed emerging and that there is the goodwill to tackle problems jointly in a civilized manner inspires hope.

A great deal will now depend on how this goodwill is manifested in practice. On what happens during the two months allowed by the participants in the Minsk meeting for the further "shaking down" of defense problems. Whether those months will be filled with really constructive work to create armed forces appropriate to the CIS concept and in conformity with present-day realities and common interests. Or whether they will be spent on constantly trying to look after oneself.

It is highly undesirable for events to follow the latter course. Nothing good will come of it either for the peoples of the sovereign states or for the armed forces. One hopes that common sense will prevail.

Impact of Armed Forces Debate, Changes Viewed

Strategic Missile Troops' Mood

PM0301104192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Major A. Dolinin: "New Year's Eve Meetings at Strategic Rocket Forces Communications Center"]

[Excerpt] Everyone likes the new year holiday and tries to be with their nearest and dearest to greet it. But military personnel manage to do this far from always—because of service. And so the Strategic Rocket Forces signals troops, whose training drill I looked in on, face the prospect of greeting the new year at their duty stations. In what sort of mood are they going on duty?

"I would be playing the hypocrite," Major General N. Chernukha said, "if I was to claim that the mood is wonderful. It is a normal, operational mood—I can guarantee that. We are not living in a vacuum and the complexity of life today is, of course, having an effect on people's mood. But it seems to me that lately we have gotten carried away by criticism and the negative side and have almost stopped noticing the bright side. But it does exist! Our people have a realization of duty and responsibility, they have not lost the love of their profession... But then, we are used to performing alert duty on holidays. Incidentally, we do not select alert-duty personnel for holidays specially, it's all done according to the roster. Just go and talk with the people..." [passage omitted]

Baltic 'Powder Keg'

PM0301103492 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jan 92 p 3

[New Year message to readers from Colonel General Valeriy Mironov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, under general heading "Is Our Locomotive Steaming Ahead?": "Looking Through the Filter of Sluggishness and Uncertainty"]

[Text] The creation of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] has placed our Armed Forces in entirely new circumstances. On the one hand, there is apparently reason for pride: The USSR Armed Forces were until recently probably the only stable structure in the state. This was noted at a seminar of the North Atlantic Assembly held in Vilnius recently, in which I took part. On the other hand, the trend toward the creation of national military formations has put the army in a bit of a spot in a whole series of regions. Including the Baltic region.

What is the situation with us today? Everyone realizes that the troops of the former USSR no longer "fit in" with the new political realities. But apart from the recognition of this fact, we have no other guidance. Here I am talking about the need for clear political decisions. There simply are none. There is plenty of talk about interstate negotiations, but the situation has not been clearly defined.

Now let us look at the position of our troops in the region through the filter of this uncertainty and sluggishness. We already have a statement by the leaders of the Baltic states to the effect that from 1 January they will stop supplying food to our troops. True, at present this step is regarded as a forced measure in response to the disruption of deliveries from the states that have formed the CIS. At the moment I am maybe not so worried about what is at the basis of this categorical stance by one side, the important point is this: As a result of such pressure tactics the normal rhythm of life for many military collectives could be threatened, to put it mildly.

In the same context, I would like to comment on another point. It has been announced, for instance, that from the new year food rations in kind will be introduced for all officer personnel. This is, of course, a necessary and timely measure, especially in the light of the present price hikes. But from what stocks are the officer personnel to be supplied with food rations?

In the region where our troops are stationed it is hard to find anything at all. Will the rations be merely a promise?

I sometimes have the impression that at times the situation surrounding our troops in the Baltic region is deliberately inflamed. You can sometimes hear something like this at official level: The present situation with the Soviet troops in the Baltic is like a powder keg that could explode at any moment. What can you say about that? If it is right to compare our troops' situation to a "powder keg," then the reason for this should be sought first and foremost in the lack of social protection for servicemen, their families, Soviet Army workers and employees, and Defense Ministry pensioners. Every one of them, like any citizen of any civilized country, wants to have confidence in tomorrow. Today, unfortunately, many people simply do not have that confidence. People do not know, for instance, how the housing question will be resolved, who will be responsible for pension provision for them, what will happen about citizenship. And if all these and other questions are decided hastily and without due thought, or else excessively slowly, then the preconditions for a social explosion could arise here.

Fate of Black Sea Fleet Sailors Discussed

PM0301093592 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Report by S. Gromov and S. Bozhenko, from Sevastopol; from the "Television News Service" newscast.]

[Text] [Gromov] A mood of expectancy reigns in Sevastopol. At least that is the most noticeable mood among the sailors. As yet it is not entirely clear to whom the fleet is subordinated and how it will be affected by the envisaged large cuts in the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

In addition it many happen that the sailors will soon have yet another master. At a Supreme Soviet session currently under way in Simferopol, Sevastopol deputies have proposed that the question of proclaiming Crimea's state independence be discussed.

Whatever happens, the fleet's commander Admiral Kasatonov is holding constant consultations and waiting for news from Kiev, where the first deputy commander-in-chief of the Navy flew on 26 December together with the minister of defense of the former Union. At the headquarters they are expecting that this meeting will shed some light on the fate of the Black Sea sailors.

Further Information on New Cruiser Kuznetsov

PM0301090992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Report by G. Durbicheva and V. Galel, from Murmansk; from the "Vesti" Newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney has stated with alarm that despite the disastrous financial situation in the former Union, nuclear weapons are still being manufactured and deployed. This applies not only to nuclear weapons.

[Durbicheva] The Northern Fleet has acquired a new ship. The aircraft carrying cruiser [kreyser-avianosets] Admiral Flota Sovetskogo Soyuza Kuznetsov has tied up at the quayside of this remote garrison. It is the flagship of a new series of aircraft carrying ships, designed to take 60 aircraft. Takeoff and touchdown will not take place vertically, but along a short runway. This considerably increases the flight range.

The new cruiser is the Navy's biggest. Its crew comprises 1,500 officers and men. It is a small autonomous state equipped with everything from a bakery to a printing press. The cruiser took nine years to build and cost more than 1 billion rubles. In the blueprint it was named Sovetskiy Soyuz. Subsequently its name was changed several times from Riga to Leonid Brezhnev to Tbilisi. It is to be hoped that its current name Admiral Flota Sovetskogo Soyuza Kuznetsov will be final. The Union does not exist anymore, but its history does, and Kuznetsov, the Great Patriotic War hero.

Estonia

Bank Ends, Transfers Hard Currency Auctions

OW0201202592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1911 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Bank of Estonia stops holding hard currency auctions and begins issuing licences for their oranization to commercial structures. This information was provided to BF [BALTFAX] by head of the Bank's information department Kaupo Pollisinski. The Bank of Estonia intends to stop commercial activities and concentrate on operating as the state central bank. However, the Bank of Estonia retains the right to resume holding auctions if such a necessity occurs.

The first license for holding hard currency auctions was granted to the Tallinn international securities exchange. The first auction will take place January 10.

Police, Ministry Plan Passport Reregistration

OW3112003291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2015 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the beginning of 1992 the passport office of the Estonian Police Department or the consular service of the Foreign Ministry will re-register the USSR travelling passports—diplomatic and other official ones—earlier issued to Estonian citizens. The decision to do this was caused by a note from Moscow to the effect that such passports would be invalid unless they were re-registered.

According to the press service of the Estonian Foreign Ministry, the last page of the passport will have to bear a stamp showing the national emblem of the Estonian Republic.

Maintenence of Agricultural Subsidies Urged

OW3112183091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1510 GMT 31 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The participants in the meeting between the Tallinn authorities and Estonian agricultural and industrial managers that took place in the City Hall on Monday [30 December] decided that the republican agrarian sector must continue to receive state subsidies.

Mati Allas, director of the grain department, said that the stock of grain in the republic will run out in January, but there is enough rye until the summer. The shortage of grain may force Estonia to start buying grain for hard currency. In this case a 0.5 kg loaf of wheat bread will cost 10 to 22 rubles.

Tiit Kouhkna, executive manager of the Tallin Milk Kombinat, says that farmers plans to sell milk at 5000 rubles per ton—a price that will raise the price of milk to 10 rubles per litre and butter, up to 100 rubles per kilo.

Last time meat prices were raised because of the need to set the wholesale price at 20 to 22 rubles per kilo. Otherwise, wholesalers would have nothing to buy.

The meeting recognized that in case the cost of agricultural products is too high, city dwellers will not be able to buy produce because of high retail prices. The meeting decided that state agricultural subsidies should be continued. The same question was discussed at the sitting of the Estonian government on December 31, Tuesday.

Fuel Arrives From Belarus 27, 28 Dec

LD3012154391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] (Bruno Vaga), head of the fuel department at the Industry and Energy Ministry, told BALTFAX that several consigments of fuel and fuel oil arrived in Estonia from Belarus within the last two days. Over 2,000 tonnes of A-76 gasoline and over 6,000 tonnes of fuel oil was received 27 and 28 December. (Bruno Vaga) also noted that the diesel supply situation remains very difficult: none has been received in Estonia within the past few days. There is no AI-93 in Estonia either. Riho Sild, deputy minister of industry and energy, told ETA that if one adds up all the fuel in Estonia, including the quantities already in the hands of consumers, it would last for 15 days. The deputy minister emphasized that one must be as economical as possible.

Latvia

Ministry's Role in Parfenov Case Viewed

PM0301111192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 91 p 2

[Correspondent Oleg Meshkov article: "A Note With New Themes"]

[Text] Riga—The passions and debates concerning the arrest of former Riga OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] staffer S. Parfenov are not dying down. There has been an exchange of statements between Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy and Latvian parliament head A. Gorbunovs. Now the Latvian Foreign Ministry has joined in the case after sending a note to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Foreign Ministry.

The note says among other things that S. Parfenov was arrested and taken to Latvia in accordance with the fact that Russia's recognition of the Latvian Republic's state independence did not entail the automatic denunciation of previously concluded agreements. The note contains new themes, however. Latvia is ready to open talks without delay on an interstate agreement on mutual legal assistance and hopes that during the talks a mutually acceptable means will be found whereby the problems which have arisen in connection with S. Parfenov's arrest can be resolved. Meanwhile, the arrested man has been taken from the police investigation detention center to another one, formerly under the control of the republic's KGB. The conditions are more severe there.

Meanwhile, another man under investigation—V. Serdyukov, former aide to Latvian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary A. Rubiks—has been released from custody on condition that he does not leave [nevyyezd].

A. Rubiks himself remains in custody in the investigation detention center. A. Rubiks took part in a strike of arrestees there at the end of November. The leadership of the detention center notes that after that the prisoners' attitude toward him changed markedly for the better.

Travel Restrictions to Poland Introduced

LD3012163191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] Exit permits for travel to Poland for the (?last) days of this year and also the first months of next year will not be issued. Limits on tourist travel mainly aimed at trading activities which came into effect (?on) 29 October are thus being extended indefinitely. This was the comment on the order passed by the Latvian Government on 27 December by Antons Baltacis, the head of the visa and passport section of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs.

(?A teletype message) just received from Russia, from Kaliningrad Oblast, he said, announces that tourist transit through the border posts of (?Mumurnovo) and (?Bagatinovo) in this oblast has ceased. This is due to the large exports of food and industrial products to Poland which in recent times has [words indistinct].

Lithuania

Cabinet Meets on Border, Russian Ties

LD0301100992 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] It was recalled at the Cabinet ministers' meeting at the end of last year that the movement of military units by train is not allowed without the government's agreement. The Cabinet meeting also formed a comission to mark off Lithuania's borders. Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila was appointed chairman of the commission.

Proceeding from the protocol on trade cooperation with neighboring Kaliningrad Oblast in Russia, Lithuania has above all to mark its sea border with that oblast. A bilateral commission is to be formed to set and mark the border with another bordering state—Belarus.

Doubts were raised at the Cabinet meeting whether Russia would observe provisions of its trade agreement with Lithuania. Although the document was signed only a few weeks ago, Russia seems to be reconsidering some of the figures in the agreement, no matter that Russia itself may find the revision harmful. The meeting's participants did not exclude the possibility that this might be an attempt at pressure so that Lithuania would shift toward the newly formed Comonwealth of Independent States. It was noted at the meeting that in that case Lithuania would turn to the the West stopping Lithuania's supplies of monopoly production in the East, closing transit across its territory, discontinuing provision of food to Soviet soldiers, and resorting to simliar measures.

Official on Georgian Events, Gorbachev Move

OW3012162491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Press-Secretary of the Lithuanian parliament Audrius Azubalis wished the Georgian people "common sense and an end of bloodshed as soon as posible." Speaking at a briefing in Vilnius December 30, he noted that limited amount of information is being received from Georgia. Assessing the event in Tbilisi, Mr. Azubalis described them as "a fight against the legally elected president."

Commenting on Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation as Soviet President, Mr. Azubalis said that "he had stepped down with dignity." In his opinion, there are some grounds to suggest that Mikhail Gorbachev "does not give up plans to return to power."

Trade Agreement Signed With Kazakhstan

LD3112054491 Moscow All-Union Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Today in Vilnus, an agreement was signed on trade and economic cooperation between the republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Kazakhstan for 1992.

Banks To Phase Out Universal Coupons

LD0301095592 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] From the very start of this year the so-called universal coupons are to be phased out gradually in Lithuania. The coupons have already played their role in stopping to some extent the rapid inflation of the ruble and in helping the population to acquire goods in great demand at prices somewhat lower than market prices. Banks in Lithuania will no longer sell universal coupons from today, and only a certain sum of coupons will still be given to each citizen of Lithuania in January. They will be used for buying food. Trade in industrial goods with the use of coupons will take place until 20 January.

The phasing out of universal coupons can be seen as yet another step toward the introduction of the national currency—the lit. Meanwhile, Vilius Baldisis, the chairman of the board of the Lithuanian Bank, refused to comment on the possible term of the introduction of the national currency. In an interview with the daily LIETUVOS AIDAS he said that the lit committee has been formed to solve concrete problems rather than talk publicly about these problems.

The lit committee consists of three persons: the parliament chairman, the prime minister, and the chairman of the board of the Lithuanian Bank.

First Quarter Food Coupons Introduced

LD0101061692 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] The Government Press Bureau reports: In order to improve the supply of foodstuff to the people of Lithuania during the period of transition to the market economy, the Government of Lithuania supported the proposal of the Ministry of Trade and Material Resources to introduce trade in some food products in the first quarter of the coming year for unified coupons for buying food stuff on the territory of Lithuania.

The following foodstuffs will be sold for coupons: sugar, salt, flour, and butter.

The coupons are printed on paper with a watermark by the State Securities Printing Enterprise. The printed coupons will be distributed to the inhabitants in the nearest future.

Government To Withhold Issue of Own Currency

PM0301115192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 92 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent N. Lashkevich report: "Lithuanian Lit Does Not Get Off the Ground"]

[Text] Vilnius—The Lithuanian Government has officially denied persistent rumors that it would introduce its own monetary unit—the lit—after New Year. Although everything is now ready in Lithuania to introduce it, the lit will not be put into circulation in the next few months. According to well-informed sources, lit bank notes along with smaller denomination currency—cents—are now held in republic bank vaults. The Lithuanian parliament has passed a law on the issuing of its own money. A republic committee on the lit has been created and commissions on the introduction of the lit set up in cities and rayons. Nor can it be ruled out that Lithuanian lits, Latvian lats, and Estonian kronas will be introduced in the three republics simultaneously.

The signal for their introduction will most likely be the monetary reform in Russia, which, in the opinion of financiers, could upset the republic market, while the lit will protect against the inflation-driven increase in worthless rubles. The question of ruble-lit exchange is still open. There is talk of an exchange rate of 10:1. In any event, on introducing its own money Lithuania will seek to gear the lit to the ECU [European Currency Unit], the EEC's financial unit of account [ekvivalent], which has become the European currency.

Impact of Russian Inflation Assessed

LD0301094892 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] Eugenijus Maldeikis, the head of the department of economic reforms of the Lithuanian Ministry of Economy, has warned that the liberalization of prices in Russia and in some other former Soviet republics would have a harmful effect on Lithuania.

According to reports from Moscow, beginning today the Russian Government controls only the prices of food products and transportation services. The price of bread, butter, and milk increased threefold, and the price of fuel—even fivefold.

The representative of the Ministry of Economy stated on Lithuanian TV that Lithuania, being in the influence zone of the ruble, would soon feel the hyperinflation in Russia, and the galloping increase of prices in that country would first of all affect the financial activity of Lithuanian enterprises and their being supplied with raw materials. According to Eugenijus Maldeikis, the republic should be prepared for all this by radicalizing the implementation of economic reforms. According to him, the introduction of the lit would be one of the means of the immediate implementation of the economic program. On the other hand, the Ministry of Economy representative said that the hope that the introduction of the lit alone would protect Lithuania's market was economic romanticism. He urged the republic's ministries, departments, industrialists, and businessmen to coordinate their work as much as possible.

Issuance of Identification Cards Ordered

LD3012151691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Order No. 1045 has been signed by Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius. It is to govern the issuance of a personal identification code to each Lithuanian citizen.

The government has tasked the Department of Statistics and the Ministry of Internal Affairs with preparing and confirming the issuance of an individual identification code and the order of its registration in the individual documents of Lithuanian citizens. [passage omitted]

News Conference on Jan Coup Plotters Held

PM3112113991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 91 p 2

[Correspondent Yuriy Stroganov report under the "News from Lithuania" rubric: "Extradition Request"]

[Text] Vilnius—The full truth about the tragic events of January 1991 in Vilnius will most likely not become known quickly. In Lithuania, however, an investigation is currently under way. V. Landsbergis, chairman of the republic Supreme Council, has sent a letter to Russian President B. Yeltsin requesting the extradition of a group of people residing on RSFSR territory who, in the opinion of Lithuania's law-enforcement agencies, are to blame for the tragedy in January.

The list of 23 people includes a number of former workers of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and a group of servicemen—the former commander of the Vilnius division, the former commandant of the republic's capital, and others. The extradition of several people involved in the case of the State Committee for the State of the Emergency, in particular, Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Shenin, is also requested.

This was reported at a news conference for journalists by Lithuanian General Prosecutor A. Paulauskas. He noted that the list by no means contains all the people involved in the January events. Some of them are to be found on the territory of other sovereign republics. Yet another group is of interest to the republic Prosecutor's Office as witnesses. These include former high-ranking figures from the leadership of the former USSR.

For the time being, however, V. Ivanov, former leader of "Yedinstvo", is under arrest on a charge connected with the January events. As has become known, he is refusing to sign the statement of indictment. His demand that a Moscow lawyer be engaged for the defense will be met, according to a statement by the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office.

At the same time an energetic search is under way for M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee—his name is on the list of 23—and the figure of former second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, V. Shved, is arousing active interest. Since the January events he has virtually retired from work because of illness—he underwent eye treatment for several months at Fedorov's clinic in Moscow. A. Paulauskas noted that V. Shved's testimony at the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office was recorded on video, but that no measures will be taken against him for the time being... Given that V. Shved has not taken Lithuanian citizenship, he has been stripped of his credentials as a deputy of the republic Supreme Council. Such is the decision of the parliamentarians.

Meanwhile preparation is under way in Lithuania for memorial day, which will take place on 13 January 1992—the anniversary of the tragic events. A number of events will take place and an extraordinary session of parliament will be held.

And another piece of news: In the opinion of representatives of the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office, investigation of the incident in Medininkai, where seven Lithuanian Republic officials died at the hands of persons unknown, has revealed the involvement of the Riga Special-Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] in the tragedy.

Extradition Demand Viewed

PM3112111791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 91 Union Edition p 6

[N. Lashkevich report: "Will the Participants in the January Conspiracy Be Extradited to Lithuania?"]

[Text] Vilnius—Lithuanian Republic General Prosecutor A. Paulauskas has made public a list of names of persons for whose extradition Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman V. Landsbergis is petitioning in a letter to Russian President B. Yeltsin.

This letter, it was announced at a news conference at the general prosecutor's office, was signed by the head of the Lithuanian parliament on Tuesday, 17 December, and has probably already been sent to Moscow. "The evidence... that has been collected affords juridical grounds for bringing legal proceedings against a number of persons for actions aimed at infringing the Lithuanian republic's state sovereignty, and through whose fault Lithuanian citizens were killed or received injuries," the message says in particular. "...In view of the fact that the persons who committed the said crimes are at the present time on Russian territory, and also taking cognizance of the fact that in the present situation in interstate relations the general prosecutor has no legal basis to institute investigatory actions on Russian territory and bring criminal prosecutions against the guilty persons, we are requesting that you assist in handing over to the Lithuanian Republic General Prosecutor's Office to face criminal proceedings the persons who occupied the following posts as of January 13 1991..."

The letter goes on to list, on the basis of evidence provided by the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office, the forenames and surnames of 23 people. They include: former Lithuanian Communist Party leaders Burokevicius, Yermalavicius, Naudzunas, and Kasperavicius; Shenin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; KGB Chairman Kryuchkov; Defense Minister Yazov and his deputy Achalov; Uskhopchik, commander of Vilnius Garrison, and Belous, garrison military commandant; Zhitnikov, commander of an MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] division; Tsaplin, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian KGB; Makutynovich, commander of the Vilnius OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment]; Golovatov, deputy commander of "Alpha" [elite commando unit]; and other former high ranks in the Communist Party, the Army, and the MVD and KGB troops. In the course of the investigation it was established (this has, in particular, been confirmed by IZVESTIYA's journalistic investigations) that they were all privy to the details of the planning of the coup, were involved in elaborating it, and took part—some to a greater, some to a lesser extent—in realizing the plan of the Vilnius operation, which in the event turned into bloody carnage.

Russia will inevitably have to give a clear-cut answer: Should the persons suspected of the crimes, whose guilt, so the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office claims, has been proven in the course of a long investigation—naturally, the court will give the final verdict—be handed over, or not? In the case of extradition, the Russian leadership partly risks a repeat of the "Parfenov Affair" and calling on its head fiery criticism over the extradition of its own citizens for allegedly political motives. However, by not extraditing, the Russian leadership would be adopting a position of shielding people who are to some extent or other implicated in the January tragedy and who took part in the Vilnius events, and would also in effect be recognizing their innocence.

Who is guilty of the deaths of 30 totally innocent, unarmed defenders of the TV tower? Who will answer for what happened in January? Why in this event will the families of those killed be refused the right to demand that the culprits are punished? Simply because it has suddenly remembered that they are citizens of another state?

The questions are far from straightforward, and the problem can only be solved, it seems to me, on the basis of mutual accords and, possibly, with the participation in the trial of representatives of the Russian law-enforcement organs. Only a trial which is independent and impartial and which rejects the whole political background to the case can determine the degree of guilt of each party. Without a doubt, such a trial should take place. What form it should take is another matter.

But meanwhile, M. Burokevicius, former first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, has sent the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office the latest in a series of letters denying his guilt and advising that cognizance be taken of his answers in PRAVDA and other central newspapers: These answers, he says, are the answers to the charges leveled against him. According to the general prosecutor, Burokevicius has agreed to submit written answers to the questions of the prosecutor's office, and has invited questions. A. Paulauskas joked: "If only he would indicate where to send the questions..." And as for his party comrade-in-arms, V. Shved, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, he is at liberty, despite rumors to the contrary, and, A. Paulauskas stated, "there is no need today to restrict his freedom."

The Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office also needs the Russian president's assistance in cross-examining other people, as witnesses. V. Landsbergis' letter puts a figure on these people—15. Amongst them are well-known people: Boldin, Nishanov, Baklanov, Falin, Lanin, and others. Thus the investigation into the case of 11-13 January is being completed, and much, if not everything now depends on the position of the Russian authorities.

Minister Comments on Radio Vilnius' Future

LD0101183292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Remarks by Lithuanian Communications Minister Kostas Birulis and Skirmantas Valiulis, director general of Lithuanian Radio and Television, on future of Lithuanian Radio, place and date not given; Birulis and Valiulis in vernacular with superimposed English translation; from the "Listeners' Club" program presented by Ausa Uraite—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Uraite] Will Radio Vilnius continue to broadcast next year? We realized the importance of this question when Moscow ceased the transmission of Radio Vilnius broadcasts during the attempted coup in Vilnius on 13 January, and it was then that we also realized the importance of having powerful transmitters on the territory of Lithuania. However, the construction of such transmitters is very expensive and time-consuming. The Lithuanian minister for communications Kostas Birulis says that there also exists the problem of Lithuania's geographical position.

[Birulis] It's a bit problematic to build a powerful shortwave transmitter here in Lithuania since the geographical position is not very suitable for wave transmission to North America. Lithuania is situated in northern Europe and rather close to the North Pole. Radio waves are transmitted better when the transmitters are located a bit more to the south. For instance, we used to rent those All-Union transmitters that are situated in the Krasnodar region (?or) the Far East, since they provided us with better listening conditions.

At present it is hard to tell about our future projects for there is nobody to negotiate with. The All-Union Ministry for Communications has ceased to exist, and the Russian Ministry has not yet begun functioning. In case there is a possibility to rent the transmitters we would like to be able to use them in exchange for relaying Soviet broadcasts in Lithuania, but perhaps there will be other solutions to this problem.

[Uraite] The Lithuanian Radio and TV director for economics Juozas Niverauskas has sent an official letter to Moscow with a request to broadcast via the Soviet transmitters and on the same shortwave frequencies and to specify (?wind) conditions. Payments for one frequency used became five-fold. Meanwhile, Radio Vilnius has received a letter from the Moscow radio leadership, suggesting that Radio Vilnius join a unified system of transmission to foreign countries. The Lithuanian Radio and TV general director, Skirmantas Valiulis:

[Valiulis] The letter from Moscow mentioned such vague notions as sovereign republics and attempts to set up a so-called common union of foreign broadcasters. This is not the first attempt to establish something of the kind. During my visit to Moscow I saw similar attempts made in the field of TV broadcasting. There are people in Moscow who still do not realize the actual status of the

Baltic states and the new principles of cooperation. At least several questions crop up immediately. For instance—will the planned Union provide its members with technical and (?creative) advantages? Will Lithuania be able, as an independent state, to sign a separate agreement with this Union, and what kind of benefits would we get in it?

The main objective now is not to lose what we have already got. Later on we will try to negotiate some benefits on an interstate basis since Lithuanian news external service broadcasts in other foreign languages besides English. Our foreign listeners are waiting for broadcasts in German and French, and we fully realize the importance of providing them with first-hand information.

We will also have to negotiate with the Ministry for Communications since we are in great need of short-wave transmitters, but it is too early to speak about results yet. We are also looking for contacts with the West, because during the 50 years of Soviet rule, the Lithuanian system of telecommunications was completely cut off from the Western broadcasting network. Therefore, the future of Radio Vilnius programs fully depends on technical possibilities.

[Uraite] But will Radio Vilnius service survive? Skirmantas Valiulis is positive about this.

[Valiulis] I certainly think so. Even in the case of possible dramatic developments, simliar to those of January, when the Lithuanian radio and TV center was occupied by the Soviet Army.

[Uraite] We now have to wait and see what kind of foreign broadcasting union will be created in Moscow, and whether we will be able to participate in it. Let's hope that you will be able to listen to Radio Vilnius next year. [passage omitted]

Regional Affairs

'Comparative Calm' in Moscow After Prices Rise

OW0201184292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1716 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There has been comparative calm amid almost empty stores in Moscow, at least downtown, following Russia's entry into the epoch of free prices on Thursday [2 January].

Emotions ran the highest in bakeries, where prices rose 3-4 times. A 1-kilo loaf of Vologodsky rye bread costs 1.92 rbls [rubles], while a loaf of whole-meal bread—2.63 rbls. Prices on various kinds of dietic bakery products have jumped up to 2-3 roubles.

One kilo of sugar costs 7.7 rbls (against 2 rbls last year in exchange for sugar coupons). Sweets "Teatralnye" and "Domino" sell at 10.8 rbls.

A packet of milk, if available, costs 1.95 rbls. But there was no milk on sale in Tverskaya street on Thursday morning. In one of the shops a crowd attacked a department where cream butter was sold at 45 roubles for a kilo. The famous Yeliseyevsky store sold Bulgarian brynza (sheep milk cheese) almost for free (9 roubles for a kilo), and also processed Swiss cheese at 210 roubles for a kilo.

The butcher's departments in Tverskaya street are still empty. The buyers and the sales personnel tend to explain this not so much by the absence of meat as by the fact that new prices have not been established yet. The abundance of sausages which surprised Muscovites so much on the New Year's eve is still there (at old prices).

1 kilo of Krakovskaya sausages—41 rbls,
"Lyubitelskaya" sausages—96 rbls,
ham "Leningradskaya"—53 rbls,
servilad—108 and 150 rbls,
smoked pork—67.5 rbls.

Tverskoy store is busy selling chickens at 31.2 rbls for a kilo (the lines are not too long). The fish departments are still filled with canned horsemackerel at 15.75 rbls for a can.

In Yeliseyevsky store, in exchange for an empty bottle and 49.5 rbls one can easily buy a bottle of Kubanskaya vodka, and also the alcohol-free drink "Apricot aroma" (2.58 rbls for 0.3 litres) and half a litre of lemonade (3.68 rbls).

Now about the food served by joint ventures and sold in Tverskaya street.

In Pizza Hut, the price of one serving of pizza has gone up to 16 rbls (almost twice). Half a litre of Pepsi-Cola and of the drink, Tanets (Dance), served here, now costs 8 rbls. Although people no longer have to stand in a line to have a snack at McDonald's, this fast-food restaurant is still busy. A month ago it raised prices on food. Referring to commercial secrets, the polite manager said that he had no information about any further price rise. The price on the ice-cream served at the Soviet-Swiss venture "Penguin" is still the same.

On the eve of the New Year, the postal offices increased postal tariffs almost 3 times, which was a nice New Year present for the citizens of Russia. If you wish to share your impressions about the recent price-rise with an acquaintance in Tashkent during a minute, you will have to pay 1 rouble. But if your acquaintance lives in the U.S., where prices are also free, you will have to pay 36 roubles for this brief dialogue.

In cooperative shops which continue to function according to the market laws, prices have not changed very much. Prices on Champagne have gone down slightly: in individual shops a bottle of Champagne costs 110 roubles. The toilet fees in Pushkin Square have not changed either.

Retail prices on newspapers, the heralds of price liberalisation, have gone up twice. A copy of PRAVDA or IZVESTIA costs 80 kopecks.

PRAVDA Reports Delicacies Available

PM0201130792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 91 p 6

[Yuriy Makhrin report: "A Suprise New Year's Present"]

[Text] What will Muscovites have on their tables on New Year's Eve? This depends on whether you are rich or poor. The huge no. 20 supermarket in Beskudnikovo, the workers' region of the capital, is completely empty! On the other hand, in the commercial department in the same region there are goods in abundance. How can we help you, sir? Champagne? Be our guest: 200 rubles [R]. (On Pravda Street you can get it a little cheaper—R197). You like Armenian brandy? R375!

In the kiosk at Savelovskiy Station "Russkaya" vodka costs R75, "Stolichnaya" R150.

Did you buy those? There will be no problem with victuals either, if you are a rich man. Smoked ham in the "Yeliseyevskiy" store costs R216, a slice of beef costs R196, and fish delicacies are the same price.

But perhaps you would like to sample some Tambov ham? Hurry to the center of Moscow, say, to the Arbat. This prized commodity has a price to match—R1,040! No, reader, that is not a misprint—one-thousand-and-forty rubles per kilogram! You can believe it or not, as you like.

These prices are the blossoms of the future market. And the fruit will appear in 1992.

Congratulations on your surprise new year's present, Muscovites!

Moscow Relys on Food Parcels From Provinces

PM0301093192 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by A. Galkin and G. Slavshchik, identified by caption, from Moscow]

[Text] [Galkin] Everybody probably still remembers the riddle: What is green and long and smells of sausage? Answer: A train leaving Moscow. Yes, that is how it used to be... In an effort to create a model communist city, as it was described by the then party and Soviet leadership, the capital was crammed with food products stripped from cities far and near. And so people from Tula and Ryazan, Rostov and Omsk used to flock to the capital to buy essentials such as sausage, butter, and even baranki [ring-shaped rolls].

Now the situation is exactly the reverse. A train from Rostov-na-Donu has arrived at Moscow's Kazanskiy railroad station.

[Turning to unidentified man] Are you waiting for a person or a parcel?

[Unidentified man] A parcel.

[Galkin] What kind of parcel?

[Unidentified man] A food parcel.

[Unidentified woman] In the past we used to take food out. Now people are bringing it in.

[Second unidentified man] Reportedly there is food in Rostov, unlike our capital.

[Second unidentified woman] Yes, the New Year table is empty, the stores are empty, there is nothing to exchange the coupons for. So we have to come here to fetch what people send us.

[Galkin] So have Muscovites always consumed without producing anything? Of course not. But you cannot butter your bread with a ZIL truck, and you cannot bake a loaf out of a machine tool. And all this has been compounded by local egoism. Customs posts have been erected on the borders. But food is nonetheless managing to get through bit by bit, as we can see. The problem is that not everyone has relatives in food-producing regions. So what is the solution?

Popov Says Market Contribution 'Positive'

LD0201135292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow's mayor, Gavriil Popov, has called 1992 a year of hopes for changes for the better. Speaking in a televised interview, Mr. Popov expressed the belief that market reforms would make a positive contribution to the Russian economy.

In Moscow, large-scale privatization has been launched in a sphere of trade and services. Priority in purchasing shops and cafes will be given to their staffs. The city authorities have already received applications from more than 8,000 (?labour staff). Some stores will be auctioned off and the largest of them will be turned into joint-stock companies.

Moscow Aviation Trade House To Sell Planes

LD0201114592 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] An Aviation Trade House has opened in Moscow. It was founded by a number of design offices and aircraft plants. The house, according to its leader (?Vladimir Laptev), will soon start selling through exchanges passenger airliners, and later military equipment if licences for export are obtained. A large part of the money made on sales will be used to finance the conversion of aircraft plants including the construction of new, reliable, and economical civil planes.

Regional Views of Price Liberalization Noted

LD0201150192 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Excerpts] The price liberalization decree came into force in Russia today. [passage omitted] TASS correspondents made spot checks this morning in several Russian towns. Here is what they found:

St. Petersburg: Most shops in the city on the Neva proved to be closed. The Central [Tsentralnyy] food store was not open. The famous Dieta on Sadovaya Street and a number of meat and dairy sales shops on Gorokhovaya Street were shut. As townsfolk, who usually see and know everything, explained, shops are taking inventory, apart from the bakery and bookshops. At the Pravoberezhnyy market, known well in St. Petersburg, milk produced at the Sumino state farm was selling for 6 rubles per liter. Nearby, a tanker was selling the same product for a quarter of that price.

What did please shoppers on this day was the abundance of bread. A loaf of black bread was being offered at 1.32 rubles.

Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy: This morning the townsfolk came face to face with the realities of the market for the first time. The new prices are making a strong impression. Thus, butter and mutton have become five times as expensive, now costing 50 and 30 rubles per kilogram, respectively. The price of bread has tripled. Cottage cheese could be bought in some food stores without standing in line at all, for 8 rubles, as well as milk at 1.5 rubles.

However, milk prices differ widely from shop to shop, something that evidently depends on the supplier. The TASS correspondent managed to find sour cream on sale at 153 rubles per kilogram and cottage cheese at 128 rubles.

Nizhniy Novogorod: Today turned out to be a disappointment and a puzzle for residents of Nizhniy Novgorod. Many of them got up early and set off for the shops in the hope of familiarizing themselves with the new prices, at the same time doing some shopping. However, the curious were met at the manufactured goods stores by padlocks and cheerless notices: Closed, Taking Inventory, Repricing. In the few food stores that were open, purchasers were frightened off by the more familiar empty shelves. True, some others did manage to buy milk and stale bread, but these products had also run out by 1000. Oh well, all you can do is wait, mindful that the first pancake is always a failure.

Omsk: All the manufactured goods stores and universal stores in the town are closed. Inventories are in progress. Purchasers will experience how it turns out tomorrow, when the shops open. Although the food stores did open, there is calm and quiet. Shoppers, already conditioned by mass propaganda work, are buying bread, milk and kefir [fermented cow's milk] at tripled prices and salt that has increased fourfold in price. But the main blow for them is yet to come, as they say. Meat products, vodka, cheeses, and butter are not yet in the shops.

Price Increases Noted in Eastern Regions

LD0201140192 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 2 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] So, price fever has already started. The first reports have already been received from the eastern regions. New price lists have appeared in the bakeries of Vladivostok. The traditional loaf of bread has tripled in price and now costs just over two rubles [R]. The Maritime Territory Bread Products Association thinks that in time this same loaf will cost R10-R15.

In Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy the town's authorities have announced the introduction of 30 types of coupons, half of them for specified goods and the other half for goods that will be specified each month. In December butter, sugar, flour, meat, pasta, as well as vodka, cigarettes, and even matches, three boxes per person per month, were distributed on coupons.

In Khabarovsk the majority of shops are closed for stocking. The bakeries are open, however. Now a white loaf costs almost four rubles. Groats and pasta have doubled in price and are being sold on coupons just as they were last year. Khabarovsk taxi drivers are already demanding R40 for a 10-km ride. And a ticket to an evening movie costs six rubles.

Yet another report from Khabarovsk: Standardized distribution of bread has been introduced throughout the kray, 800g per person. The elderly recall that during the war the norms were approximately the same.

Sakhalin Governor Wants Repeal of Free Prices

PM0201154592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 91 p 2

[Stringer Vladimir Ryabchikov report: "Last Attempt"]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk—Delivering a report at a session of the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies on the situation in the oblast, V. Fedorov, the local governor, made public the text of a telegram sent by him to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

It says, inter alia: "...I call on you to abandon the liberalization of prices planned for 2 January 1992. This measure will cause the impoverishment of the population on a huge scale; growing shortages will force us to resort to compulsory distribution of food and goods. Transition to the market will not be possible. I suggest that the only possible correct path to overcome the crisis is to introduce a 75-percent state order, to be subsequently lowered by 10 percent per annum."

Yakutia's Government To Keep Prices Unchanged

OW0201173692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1524 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In accordance with decision taken by Yakutia's government, the prices of basic food products will remain unchanged in January. This relates to the prices of meat and milk products, bakery products and groceries. This decision will evidently be repealed by the next session of Yakutia's parliament scheduled for late January.

Yakutia Presidium Meets on Military Units

OW0201181092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1524 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The presidium of the parliament of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) held a session and decided to place all institutions and military units belonging to the defense ministry and to the federal security agency as well as those facilities of the "Yakutautotrans" association which have military vehicles, under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation.

It also compiled a list of facilities and institutions to be owned by the Russian Federation and by the Sakha Republic.

St. Petersburg Holds Revival Conference

PM0201133592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Yuriy Kukanov report: "Searching for the Way"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—A three-day all-Russian scientific and practical conference entitled "Russia's Revival and Development: Ways of Getting Out of the Crisis" has ended in St. Petersburg. It was held within the framework of the republic's "Russia's Peoples: Revival and Development" research program, which is being implemented by the RSFSR Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technical Policy.

The wide range of problems discussed in the Tavricheskiy Palace by scientists and artists from 42 cities of Russia, the Ukraine, Belarus, and Latvia can be summarized briefly as follows: How should we reconstruct Russia?

We will hope that the Russian scholars' discussions will help the homeland on its current thorny path.

St. Petersburg Ports To Be Municipal Property

LD0301100192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0020 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] St. Petersburg, 3 Jan (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed authorization for St. Petersburg's maritime commercial port, and the timber commercial and fishing ports to become the city's municipal property, the newspaper SMENA has been informed by the economic development committee of the city mayor's office. The mayor's office intends to start to privatize the ports in the nearest future. According to Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, the newspaper reports, this will enable the volume of traffic to be increased substantially and will help to actively attract foreign investment to Russia.

Curfew Lifted in Chechen-Ingush District

OW0201172492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1524 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the Prigorodny district of Chechen-Ingush the curfew has been lifted following what was described as "relative normalization". It was imposed on April 19 1991 in the wake of a worsening in relations between the Chechen and Ingush people.

The curfew is in effect in only one community—Tarskoye—where tension between Osdsetai and Ingush people has continued. In that village two police were cruelly murdered last November. The circumstances are unknown.

Chechen Recalls Union, Russian Deputies

LD0301123792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1115 GMT 3 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 3 Jan (TASS)—The parliament of the Chechen Republic has decided to recall the USSR and RSFSR people's deputies representing the former Chechen-Ingush ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. In fact, there was no need to recall the Union deputies. In connection with the disintegration of the USSR, as the document states, it was decided to regard them as having lost their powers. The matter is more difficult in the case of the Russian parliamentarians. After all, they include not only notable figures in the Russian parliament, but also the actual chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Ruslan Khasbulatov. He was elected as a deputy by the inhabitants of Groznyy.

It has not been possible today to determine how legally sound the decision by the Chechen Republic's parliament is. By decision of that same parliament, Friday is henceforth to be a day of rest.

Tatar Deputies Say CIS Declaration Illegal

LD0201202792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1634 GMT 2 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] A group of Supreme Soviet deputies of Tatarstan say the declaration on the Republic's joining the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] has no legal force. A statement issued by the Soglasie and Narodovlastie groups was published by the local media on December 31. It says the draft declaration adopted by the 8th session of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan on December 26, runs counter to the parliamentary resolution on the act of state independence of Tatarstan since it declares the republic an independent state outside the Russian Federation without holding a referendum on the issue. The statement also says there was no quorum during voting on the declaration, with 6 persons who voted for the draft being absent from the session. Aleksandr Shtanin, leader of the Narodovlastie Deputies Group told PF that the declaration was adopted illegally and the voting returns were falsified. In his new year address Tatar President Mintimer Shaimiyev expressed hope that "Tatarstan will occupy its place in the CIS".

Jewish Region Opposed To Becoming Republic

OW0201192492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1524 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking on local radio, Nikolay Volkov who leads the administration of the Jewish autonomous region gave no support to the calls for transforming the region into a republic. Earlier such calls were opposed by spokesmen for 4 of the 5 districts forming the region.

Federation Affairs

Constitutional Court To View Security Decree

OW0201205192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1918 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation is planning to consider the official inquiry of five parliamentary committees which urge that Boris Yeltsin's decree on instituting a ministry of security and internal affairs be checked for compliance to the constitution at an open session on January 14, Chairman of the Constitutional Court, Mr. Valery Zorkin, told IF [INTERFAX].

Meanwhile, chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Security, Mr Boris Bolshakov, informed IF that his committee had received many letters and telegrams from the parliaments of the republics constituting the Russian Federation, from the heads of administrations, from the Russian president's local representatives and from workers of law-enforcement bodies who protest against Mr. Yeltsin's decree on merging the bodies of state security and internal affairs.

Mr. Bolshakov also said that the analysis of the possible consequences of this decree, carried out by Russia's Federal Security Agency, shows that its "implementation will aggravate the current crisis, inflict damage on Russia's security and cause an outflow of skilled personnel from the law-enforcement bodies."

Post-Liberalization Economic Prospects Viewed

LD0301081992 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—If the Russian Government succeeds in stabilising finances, it will manage to control the rate of inflation and keep at a 10 percent monthly level next spring and summer, a Russian minister holds. Free prices introduced in Russia on Thursday [2 January] will not trigger off catastrophic inflation if the country manages to eliminate its budget deficit, Andrey Nechayev, Russian first deputy minister of economy and finance, told the "TRUD" newspaper on Friday.

Economy will start to revive if Russia lives through the winter without social upheavals. "In other case, we are facing complete collapse, civil war, and a new totalitarian regime," Nechayev warned.

"I shall tell you bluntly: We hope foreign humanitarian aid will help us to a certain extent during the crucial period," he added.

Even if reforms succeed it will be impossible to stop economic slump in 1992, the deputy minister said. The gross national product will decrease by 12-15 percent, the total volume of industrial production by 7-8 percent. Economic stabilisation will begin in 1993, if no social upheavals occur, Nechayev said, adding the number of unemployed in Russia will total four million people in 1992.

Gaydar Interviewed on Price Liberalization

PM0301121992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Yegor Gaydar by Mikhail Berger; date, place not given: "The Future Will Bring Us New Prices and Forgotten Goods, Yegor Gaydar Believes"]

[Text] [Berger] Yegor Timurovich, a new life begins or, at least, should begin in the new year: free prices, privatization, liberalization of foreign economic activity. What do you expect, what should we all expect during the first weeks and months? Will it not happen that liberated prices, like a domestic animal born in captivity, will not run free but will huddle up to the "master state price list"? In the opinion of some experts, this could happen. Will it not happen that people will not want to become owners, and foreign investors will not want to use the new freedoms granted them?

[Gaydar] Despite the fact that there are some grounds for believing in the natural constraint of prices, I have no doubt at all that they will run free. After all, the market is something universal. We should fear not the fact that prices "will not want" to become liberal but the situation against whose background they have to be set free. The classic schemes for taking such measures presuppose the initial implementation of financial stabilization and only then the liberalization of prices. It is not that it is forbidden to do this simultaneously—it is not recommended because of the high degree of risk. And if we had any choice at all, we would not risk it. Somewhere around the middle of 1988 events in the economy began to develop according to the worst scenario for the implementation of reform.

But even at the beginning of 1989 control had not yet been lost, and something really could have been done from above. But, to cut appropriations for the military-industrial complex and reduce purchases of equipment and machinery in favor of consumer imports—all this seemed impossible and was virtually out of the question.

Given a great desire and a full understanding of the situation, Gorbachev and Ryzhkov still could have changed something. But there was neither of these. They allowed themselves to be bewitched by favorable calculations and romantic expectations. Do you remember the very first main areas of the transition to the market, which were proclaimed by Ryzhkov and were based on a totally unrealistic increase in production, which would have come from I know not where, and on a 60 billion-ruble [R] increase in consumer goods production?

Gorbachev gradually began to approach an understanding of the role of finances and began to pay proper attention to them. But, unfortunately, politicians very frequently begin to understand just what must be done only when they no longer have any real power to profit from this understanding.

By September of last year the country had encountered three very grave problems. The first was the total collapse of the budget and the disorder in finances. The second was the foreign debts crisis, the impossibility of settling with creditors, and hence the collapse of imports, without which many production processes simply grind to a halt. And the third was the failure of the physical-material mechanism of distribution and management through funds, ceilings, and warrants, which operated at least until the middle of last August.

[Berger] For two months now you and your comrades on the team in the Russian Government have been responsible for everything that is happening and will happen in the very near future. What can someone who has turned from being an economist-onlooker and a journalist into a practical worker say about this?

[Gaydar] First of all, when you think about how to climb out of the pit in which we have all ended up and weigh up the options for conduct that are dictated by economic logic, you see particularly clearly the huge number of factors which have a decisive influence on events but which hardly depend on you. And then it is not enough to ensure that billions cease to be poured into construction that nobody needs or into military orders. It is necessary to settle relations with powerful social groups which are able to protect their own interests, and it is hard to impose anything on them. It is possible to adopt splendid decisions on purchases of goods, but food ships do not come because foreign banks freeze credits without waiting for the completion of talks on debts. And the economic conduct of the states which were members of the former Union—conduct which in some situations is still less dependent on you than the conduct of Western bankers?

[Berger] What have you managed to do already in this situation, and what not?

[Gaydar] We have succeeded, in my view, in preparing promptly a set of normative acts on key questions of the reform. You should number among these, above all, the liberalization of prices and of foreign economic activity, the state privatization program, and the normative acts on land reform and the transformation of kolkhozes [collective farms] and state farms.

[Berger] The liberalization should probably be considered the most important, should it not?

[Gaydar] On the way to the market—yes. But I would name the turn toward a tough budgetary policy as the chief achievement of these two months. We have begun to close the valve which was gushing increasingly strongly with every passing day.

[Berger] How can you speak of "closing the valve" which was overfilling monetary circulation, when prices and incomes are growing faster than mushrooms after rain?

[Gaydar] Yes, but with liberated prices and a tough budgetary policy it will very soon come to light that there is not enough money. There is not, for example, R100,000 (or however much it might cost) for an automobile or for a suite of furniture. There is not enough money for new equipment or new construction. Normal financial restrictions arise, dictating quite definite conduct. This is the main thing.

[Berger] I do not rule out the possibility that you have achieved success in the main thing, as you see it, although it is very, very hard to imagine that after such a huge deficit it is possible at once to achieve a deficit-free budget. As for other achievements, there are still more questions here. Let us take the privatization program. There are stages, targets for sectors and regions in percentages, etc. All this is very reminiscent of some mass measures in our history. And then, given certain circumstances, it is probably even possible to make a person happy against his will. But he can hardly be made an owner against his wishes.

[Gaydar] If it were possible also quickly to make everyone into owners, as they were once driven into kolkhozes, this would not be so bad, on condition, of course, that this did not require casualties and coercion. But, to be serious, parliament entrusted us with drawing up an itemized privatization target—which we have done. I realize that documents of this sort arouse a pleasant fermentation of sarcastic thought, and sometimes I myself wonder how I would dabble here if I were writing an article about this, but let us look at the document without superfluous emotions and prejudice. Privatization does not take place easily or quickly anywhere: neither in the former socialist countries nor "under capitalism." It is a difficult but extremely necessary process, which meets not only with a lack of understanding but also with very strong resistance from interested social groups and structures.

Proceeding from what I have said, I would not call the privatization targets absurd. And then, we are not imposing some kind of property on anyone with the program, you know, and we are not issuing orders to become the owner of something. We are obliging state organs to make it possible for those who wish and are able to do so to acquire state property. In other words, this is not a target for the purchaser but for the vendor of property, who in the majority of cases does not want to do this, for property means money and power, and history knows of very few cases where people have readily parted with these things.

To speak of what has not but should have been done during this time, I would include here the weak ties inside Russia: with the regions and republics. I am sorry that the price liberalization was not begun two weeks sooner. We have managed to do little in the struggle against corruption, although one of the first measures which the new government of Russia took was to reconsider the sales licenses for petroleum and petroleum products. As is known, they had been issued through various channels for 150 million tonnes against the USSR's average annual exports of 100 million tonnes in previous years. This is probably one of the most crime-ridden spheres of management. There is even talk of the existence of a fixed rate for bribes to secure export licenses for that same oil—1 percent of the value of the contract and, naturally, not in rubles. You can imagine what sums and what interests are involved here. The new foreign economic regulation is aimed, inter alia, at breaking this system.

[Berger] Fine, it is possible to agree or argue with you in global, macroeconomic decisions, but many authoritative experts, ours and foreign ones—particularly those who have dealt with such situations—on the whole approve of your actions. But the microlevel, when the matter concerns a specific plant, gives rise to quite a lot of questions. What will a plant cafeteria, for example, do when it has been deprived of funds and state meat deliveries? Do you not fear that you will have to deal with workers who have not gotten their dinner or not found sufficient money to buy it?

[Gaydar] The question of the plant cafeteria must be addressed to the plant which, in addition to funds for meat, also had economically accountable funds and income which should be used, inter alia, to resolve this problem. Of course, not all enterprises will cope with this, and not all will be able to surmount this and many other problems. But the path away from communism is not easy, and we are not the first to find out that the tasks of postcommunist stabilization are always unpleasant. We are among the last to take this path, and it should be noted that in Russia the distance between what should have been done at certain stages on this path and what was done regularly remained as great as it could be.

[Berger] Then let us put the question on a different plane. You can conceive of a reform ideally and correctly but fail in the day-to-day management of the economy. Trains will grind to a halt, plants will stop working because of a lack of essential deliveries, and there will be a lack of heat.

[Gaydar] All this worries us no less than the reform itself. There is a special group in the government which is tackling nothing but questions of life support and which we conventionally call the "commission on winter." It is headed by Stanislav Anisimov, minister of material resources and trade—in the final analysis, everything is tied up with deliveries—who has been given very wide powers in this field. The situation is difficult but not hopeless. We endeavor to react promptly to the problems that arise. For example, as early as 27 December we began buying up coal, which we began to hold back, at the new prices. Today, on the whole, the fuel stocks situation is tolerable, with the exception of a few individual cases.

[Berger] What are your forecasts for the immediate future? What awaits us?

[Gaydar] According to the most favorable scenario the growth in prices in January-February will be approximately 100 percent a month. In the first three months we expect a threefold increase in prices. The demand for money will increase sharply and by February stabilization on the consumer market will begin. By March-April the pace of the increase in prices should slow down to 10-12 percent and at the same time the pace of the growth of incomes will decline. Prices for some other goods for which state regulation is being retained will be released.

By June we shall have a stabilization fund to maintain the stable exchange rate of the ruble. All events will proceeded against the background of the continuing decline in production and the growth of unemployment. But by the end of the year the pace for the growth of prices will slow down to a few percent, the ruble exchange rate will stabilize, and objective prerequisites will arise for the influx of foreign investments. The overall decline for the results for the year should not exceed 10-12 percent according to this scenario.

[Berger] And what do the other scenarios say?

[Gaydar] First I shall note that the first from the economic viewpoint contains nothing fantastic, it is entirely realistic. The development of events could be influenced by the political situation. For instance, tough demands to increase compensation. The pace of the increase in wages comes close to the pace of the increase in prices. As a result inflation "goes off the scale" at over 50 percent a month, the economy functions on the basis of a barter regime, since with such inflation money becomes pointless, and we reach a new, graver, spiral of problems which, however, are also soluble.

[Berger] Well, under conditions when the promise of a small calamity looks like unjustified optimism, your certainty looks very bold. We hope that we will have the opportunity to discuss together how founded it is. Let us look regularly at the situation and check the development of events against what you expected.

[Gaydar] I agree.

Poll on Market Economy Hopes, Eating Habits

OW0301083092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0741 GMT 3 Jan 92

[From "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Data news agency, in October-November the National Public Opinion Studies Center conducted an opinion poll among 1473 respondents throughout Russia asking them what they think about the transition to a market economy and what they plan to do under new conditions.

61% do not think the transition to a market economy will improve their lives.
17% believe that they will get rich.
22% were undecided.

44% hope that they will receive higher salaries. 27% hope they will take up their own business or have a farm. 23% look forward to higher student grants or pensions. 22% hope to find a job that pays well. 12% of those polled believe they would be able to buy securities or make a beneficial investment. 7% would like to land a job abroad. 13% found it difficult to answer.

The same poll tried to find out how the Russian population eats.

75% said they eat too little fish. 65%—too little poultry, 53% eat not enough fruits and vegetables, 51%—meat, 42% dairy products. 23% think they eat too little bread, cereals and macaroni.

Only 19% eat enough fish, 26%—poultry, 36%—fruits and vegetables, 39% are satisfied with the amount of meat they eat, 46%—dairy products, 64% bread. One in ten thinks there are too much of the above mentioned foodstuffs in their food allowances.

Margin of error—3%.

New Income Tax Legislation Takes Effect

LD0201151992 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] New tax legislation has come into force. As an RIA correspondent was told by Igor Lazarev, head of the Russian state tax service, the minimum income tax rate amounts to 12 percent of annual income up to 42,000 rubles. Higher incomes will be subject to a 60 percent tax. Such a mechanism is aimed at protecting citizens with middle and low incomes.

Union Sberbank Stops Activities; To Liquidate

LD0201163492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jan (TASS)—The USSR Sberbank has ceased its activities. A special commission from representatives of the savings banks of the sovereign republics and states, former subjects of the USSR, has been created to resolve all the issues connected with its liquidation.

A TASS correspondent was told by the commission today that the time scale for submitting claims to the bank by creditors has been established as two months. Claims will be satisfied against its property.

The ceasing of activities by the USSR Sberbank does not involve the re-registration of the savings bank books of citizens and other savings bank documents with the emblem and the properties of the USSR Sberbank.

Rutskoy Interviewed on Yeltsin, Democracy

92UN0551A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 91 p 1-2

[Interview with Aleksandr Rutskoy, vice president of Russia, by Andrey Karaulov, under the rubric "A Self-Portrait": "There Is Neither Power Nor Democracy in Russia"]

[Text] The White House, 5 December 1991—[Karaulov] Are you very tired?

[Rutskoy] Frankly, yes. I am tired, first and foremost, of the uncertainty in the life of Russia, and then of everything else.

[Karaulov] I do not know what turn our conversation will take, but the first question came to my mind when I saw these airplanes on your desk. Do you miss aviation?

[Rutskoy] These are new models. Gifts from design bureaus and aviation plants that I work with and maintain contact with. For instance, the Ulyanovsk aviation plant. It is still not completed: some 8 billion has already been invested but the plant still is not up to full capacity. The plant director has been knocking on all doors for two years; papers have been signed by Ryzhkov, Pavlov, Silayev, and still the issue has not been resolved. I had to join in to help: We have collected 21 appended instructions. Twenty-one! Here is bureaucratism in its pure sense. The president signed a decree, and then somebody (I do not even know who) came to Gaydar, expressed some doubt—and, as usual, a decision which was ready to go was suspended. The entire plant went into a frenzy, the director headed immediately for Moscow, for the White House; pressure, back- and-forth discussion again; finally, things started moving. Time will tell for how long.

[Karaulov] What about the icons? Airplanes against the background of four icons—this does not happen.

[Rutskoy] Why does it not happen?

[Karaulov] This is honestly the first time I have seen something like this. Usually you see portraits of Gorbachev or Yeltsin in offices.

[Rutskoy] As for the icons—this is the culture of our people. We used to say: Our education, health care, and culture are subsidized; well, today our conscience, our soul is subsidized. I have great respect for religion. Not only the Orthodox one. An Arab journalist recently visited me. He said: "This is the first time I have seen a Russian leader with the Koran." Well, both the Bible and the Koran—they are the law by which people have lived for centuries. At some time, we have rejected all this. And what do we have instead? A pseudo-religion of "socialist choice and communist perspective"? And now that of a play-school democracy.

[Karaulov] Last night I read in IZVESTIYA a quote from Gennadiy Burbulis that it had "pained his heart" to learn of your disagreements with the government.

[Rutskoy] Frankly, I did not see it. I try to disregard all of this.

[Karaulov] Is it easy for you to work with him?

[Rutskoy] At this point, I cannot work with him at all.

[Karaulov] Then what is the solution? There is government. You are the vice president of Russia. You have immense power in your hands...

[Rutskoy] No, there is no power and no democracy in Russia right now...

[Karaulov] But how can that be? You yourself said after the putsch that "democracy has won in Russia—thanks to Russia."

[Rutskoy] Yes, I did say that. At that time, not only I—many people thought: Now that all the obstacles on the road to radical reform—such as the CPSU, the Communist Party of Russia, and the all-Union center—have been swept away, things will get going for the democrats. I remember the rally in front of the White House on 22 August. I remember thinking: This is it, the crucial unity of the democratic forces has been achieved. But then it became obvious that each of us understands democracy in a different way. Lately, I have been accused of some kind of extremist-military-command mentality, of not seeing the difference between commanding an army and governing a society. I am especially picked on when I say that democracy is, first and foremost, the law. The law, before which all are equal. Now let us look how some political forces in Russian society understand freedom and democracy. What is the highest legislative organ in the RSFSR? The Congress and the Supreme Soviet. Does anybody carry out their resolutions? Take the situation in Checheno-Ingushetia. The Congress of People's Deputies declared the results of elections there illegal; the Supreme Soviet Presidium issued a resolution to immediately surrender arms; instead, the population is being armed en masse with the newest types of firearms. Where did they come from in the first place? They are not sold in stores. Do we have a law that permits the unrestricted purchase, carrying, and use of arms? No, there is no such law. Is there a law that permits freeing those in investigative detention from their place of incarceration and immediately arming them? I do not think so. They say, the republic is fighting for its freedom and independence. But let us ask: Fighting against whom? Who was keeping Dudayev and his supporters from holding democratic elections in the republic? Are there such people? No, nobody was standing in his way.

Next. The arrest of KGB Major Tolstenev and the announcement that he will be judged by the people. For what? For having on him a standard issue firearm that he is entitled to carry by the law. Next day the body of Major Tolstenev is brought to the morgue. That is all. No reaction from anybody. Does this happen in a democratic state? And the arrest and illegal extradition to another state of Russian citizen Sergey Parfenov. As a result, people are simply confused, they no longer know whom to believe and who will defend them...

Democracy is unthinkable without tolerance, without respect for the beliefs of others. Today, the same people who had devoted their lives to teaching "scientific communism" are launching a "witch hunt" and demanding that those who had held positions in the party hierarchy should not be permitted to hold leadership positions.

No, there is no democracy in Russia at this point. A complete power vacuum, chaos, and anarchy.

[Karaulov] What about Yeltsin?

[Rutskoy] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has had very hard times during the first stage when he had encountered open opposition from the center against the Russian leadership. But what kept him from getting down to business after 21 August? Only one thing: the irresponsibility of those who were in charge of planning, organization, making decisions, and working out the mechanism for their implementation. Of course, it is a fair question: What does the vice president do? The point is that this same Burbulis has been striving all this time to define the vice president's place, and not only his. He has placed all of us into little slots convenient for him: first me, then the president's aides, and now he has taken on the Supreme Soviet.

[Karaulov] How can this be?

[Rutskoy] Very easily. Slander, rumors, outright dishonesty—primarily on the part of his entourage. I met with Burbulis many times, invited him over here: Gennadiy Eduardovich, let us plan our work, let us define who is responsible for what, and once a week sum up the results. But no. There is a very real partitioning going on. A wall.

[Karaulov] Why? Are you an outsider to them?

[Rutskoy] It may be that they consider me an outsider. I honestly do not want to complain; at first, I took it to heart, tried to have a frank discussion with him: "Tell me, Gennadiy Eduardovich, what is it about me that you do not accept? Perhaps, I do not have enough education? But I did graduate from three institutions of higher learning, after all. Perhaps, I do not have enough administrative experience? But I did come here from the position of deputy commander-in-chief of the Air Force. Perhaps you think that I do not know how ordinary people, our people live? But my resume started as it did for many in my generation—at the age of 17 I was studying in an evening school and worked as a metal worker, then a metal worker-assembler; I served as a soldier in the Army for a year, then entered Higher Engineering Aviation School; then became an officer and later entered the Air Force Academy and the General

Staff Academy. Although I am 44, I have seen a lot in my life. So what is the problem?"

I came to the Russian parliament on my own. Nobody dragged me there by the sleeve; besides, I had a very nice career in the military. I was elected to the Supreme Soviet where I became chairman of the Committee on Disabled, Veterans of War and Labor, and Social Protection of the Military and Their Families. I worked to the best of my ability, trying to help people and to somewhat change their lives which were deprived of rights. And I will tell you: As many as 85 percent of the complaints were considered and action taken on them.

Half a year ago Boris Nikolayevich asked me to be his running mate in the presidential elections. I believed that real democrats came to power in Russia. That is why I walked together with Yeltsin. And I will tell you: No matter what happens, I have nothing but exceptionally good feelings toward Boris Nikolayevich. I am grateful to fate that it brought me together with such a man. And I would like to continue working together in the future.

By the way, we have a very strange formula in the Constitution: the national vice president, on the president's commission, carries out certain tasks for the president. Then this position should be called by its proper name: a "gofer." I believe that a vice president should have certain defined duties. When I visit plants and factories, meet with kolkhoz members, everybody asks the same question: Look, what is it you are doing there in Moscow? Why are you making fools of yourselves? If the vice president had his constitutional duties clearly defined from the beginning, he could take clear responsibility for his share. In the final count, it is those elected by the people who will be held responsible. In the final count, it will not be Burbulis or another provisional government. The people who will be held to answer will be Yeltsin, Rutskoy, the Supreme Soviet headed by Khasbulatov, and he personally. I simply no longer understand who I am. I read the presidential decree, and it says: "The vice president may participate in the government meetings with the right of deliberative vote." I call Shakhray: "Sergey, what in the world is this, at least take out this 'with the right of deliberative vote,' it is embarrassing for me." He did manage to remove it from an already approved, signed decree...

The president said that he takes upon himself the duties of the head of the government: If radical reforms fail, he will resign. But at the same time the Government of Russia resembles a decree-churning bureau. Since the presidential elections, 270 decrees have been issued.

[Karaulov] Are they being carried out?

[Rutskoy] Forget it... In Russia, the people in power today interpret the law any way they see fit, just as in the past. Here is the result: raging prices, profiteering, financial inflation, decline in production, disruption of contractual relations and deliveries, and a fuel crisis. What can we expect tomorrow if empty shelves have been replaced by commercial stores that rob the people by buying up state production and reselling it for astronomical profits. Edam cheese is 400 rubles [R] a kilogram, champagne—R300, meat—R120 a kilogram, and so on. What next, unless we start governing the state and its economy, finances, and prices?

What we do is issue a decree where point one abolishes everything that existed before, and point two tells the government to develop a "new form" within one or two months. Forgive me, but it should probably be in reverse order: First a new form needs to be developed, and than the old one repealed. Let us have a look: Boris Nikolayevich's first decree. On education. Half a year has passed. What has been done? (pause) This is the value of a decree that was written without taking into account existing resources and was not been backed up by a mechanism for its implementation. As a result, people have been deceived, albeit unintentionally. I can show you a couple of dozen decrees that are full of contradictions.

[Karaulov] Who does it all come from?

[Rutskoy] It is not as if somebody wants to deliberately make everything confusing. It is just that there is no system to develop documents and to bring control over their implementation to the executors level. Here is a real life example. I just had a visit from the director of Sibselmash [Siberian Agricultural Machinery Works]. He has 2,500 sowing-machines standing in his plant, although they are in great demand. He cannot send them out because they do not have a transversal pipe. The sowing machines have been assembled, painted, and are now standing and waiting: they need the transversal pipe. The delivery schedule has collapsed, and nobody will answer for this, nobody is subordinate to anybody anymore, because we have destroyed everything we had.

Instead of entering a market, we have entered anarchy; instead of entrepreneurship, we have profiteering. This is not one and the same.

What kind of price liberalization can there be without privatization, without a land and financial reform, without a consistent, phased system? And privatization, I am convinced, must be done primarily on a credit basis. Not to sell apartments, stores, and enterprises at auctions, but to let those who want to buy them do it with government credits. The current examples of privatization: Moscow has one system, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich has invented a different one in St. Petersburg, in Yekaterinburg they came up with yet another—in short, each acts on his own...

Everything is falling into abyss: the economy, finances, and, most importantly, the people's trust.

We should not forget that while we are talking about reforms, the situation is worsening dramatically. For instance, in Kemerovo the furnaces at the thermal electric power stations are working at 60 percent capacity—there is no coal. This is happening in a place that has the largest coal deposits in the world! Can there be something more absurd than this?

Today, at the government meeting, a question came up on fuel and power resources. The situation is catastrophic in this respect, too. Novosibirsk has enough fuel for 25 days—and the winter is only beginning. At the same time, train loads of oil and coal go abroad, as if on a one-way street...

[Karaulov] Why?

[Rutskoy] There used to be a Russian Gosplan [State Planning Committee]. It has been abolished. I attempted to suggest that we need to resurrect some planning organ of the Gosplan type. The state cannot exist without planning and distribution, especially during the period of reforms. And then it started: We are moving toward a market, and here comes Rutskoy with some Gosplan... But let us look at who is right when Russia does not have any planning agency at all. Contractual ties have completely disintegrated, while purely market ties are either still or already not working. What is happening today? Wild barter has gripped everybody. A director of a metallurgical plant goes to a coal mine for coal; the miners demand food in return, and they are right, they have to eat and there is no centralized supply; but where is he to get food? What will he exchange it for? The year is almost over, but trade and economic agreements have not yet been signed with many republics. There are no state orders at state enterprises (of which we have 98 percent); contractual agreements are signed for 8 to 12 percent; and so on. What are they entering 1992 with? There is no money, no material and technical supply, no components, and even no fuel.

[Karaulov] So what will happen?

[Rutskoy] It is all right to make fun of anything and anywhere, but one cannot play games with the state and the people. The minister of fuel and the power industry comes over to me, a young nice-looking man, and says: "Aleksandr Vladimirovich, I made some preliminary calculations—you know, we have such plans for fuel exports that it will take us three years to extract this much." There! I have documents where Kulik, Silayev's former minister, by one stroke of a pen sends a million tons of coal and 10 million cubic meters of lumber in one direction, and a million tons of oil and oil products in another... to back up "Harvest-1990" vouchers. There are no vouchers, there is no harvest. People have been deceived, that is all there is to it...

[Karaulov] Is it a mistake that the president himself now heads the government? What is your opinion?

[Rutskoy] It is a very serious mistake. Boris Nikolayevich has taken this step in all sincerity, but I think he did it out of desperation. But he should not, should not take everything upon himself. As president, he already has enough work. Look: He has a robust constitution, but he is already having heart trouble. And now he takes on the burden of the government. Look at who is responsible for what today. Burbulis is responsible for the selection and appointment of ministers, deputy ministers, and agency chiefs—that is, the personnel policy. That is all. Gaydar supervises—start counting on your fingers—the Ministries of Economics and Finance, Industry, Agriculture, Transport, Fuels and Power Generation, Trade, Material Resources, Ecology and Use of Natural Resources, Communications, and Housing and Municipal Services. More: State Committees for Managing State Property, Architecture, Antitrust Policy, and so on. You run out of fingers, right? The man has not spent a day in the actual production environment. Nobody has this breadth of outlook or the simple physical ability to handle it all. There should be a professional, a powerful professional—an administrator. What do we have? I do not believe in a government that was selected using a scientific degree as a criterion. I hope scientists will forgive me, but practical management experience is also needed. But when I voice my doubts, I hear: Rutskoy is hungry for power. Comrade Golovkov, Burbulis' aide, writes: "It is clear that Rutskoy is trying to earn some political capital." A commentator in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA quotes this statement and expounds the theory further: "If this is the case, he will look much more impressive than Yanayev in the role of head of the next State Committee on the State of Emergency... What we have is a clear attempt to exert pressure on the authorities, undertaken through the vice president by certain circles that do not accept any reforms."

Well! What kind of nonsense is this? Or another article: "Rutskoy suddenly put himself in opposition to the Yeltsin cabinet's program of radical reforms and thus immediately boosted the number of his detractors." I am asking all my "detractors": Who are the reforms for: the government or the people? Or take this: "The danger is that in this capacity Rutskoy is becoming, or has already become, the mouthpiece of the military and the leadership of the military- industrial complex—the monster that is still hoping to stop, through the use of force, the process of the disintegration of the Union." What can one say? What kind of a monster is the military-industrial complex—by the way the Ministry of General Machine Building alone produces 50,000 tractors. And what about the Siberian Agricultural Machinery Works? Today entire shops are being closed at enterprises of the military-industrial complex; valuable technologies are being lost. There are plants with technologies that are several years ahead of the West. Are we to throw all of this away?

You can read in any newspaper: "draft reforms," "reforms program." Where is it, this program? Have you seen it?

[Karaulov] Honestly, no.

[Rutskoy] I have not seen it either. A mere enumeration of reforms at the Congress of People's Deputies does not constitute a program.

[Karaulov] Have you had frank conversations with Boris Nikolayevich?

[Rutskoy] No. I have not had the opportunity.

[Karaulov] Not once? In half a year?

[Rutskoy] You see, I asked: Let us find a couple of hours and talk. But his entourage does everything to limit access to a select group...

[Karaulov] Does this mean you will have to leave?

[Rutskoy] No, I will not leave... This is their fabrication; I have no plans to resign. (Although, to be honest, sometimes I have thought of it.) I repeat: We have been elected by the people to work together. I think that in the final count it is the people who should decide whether I should resign or not. I think that in time Boris Nikolayevich will understand that I was right.

[Karaulov] Is Khasbulatov in the same situation?

[Rutskoy] I have a very good relationship with Ruslan. In all this time we have been working together, neither of us has ever raised his voice.

[Karaulov] Globa says that there will be another coup on 16 December.

[Rutskoy] Let these clairvoyants go to hell. I am generally very skeptical about them.

[Karaulov] Are there any food reserves in Russia?

[Rutskoy] It is hard, very hard. "Harvest-90" contracts have not been fulfilled at all. There are no deliveries. One of the main reasons is the deception perpetrated on the people by the previous government, which swore that "Harvest-90" vouchers would be realized. Meanwhile, almost all the money and goods were squandered. I still think that the RSFSR Procuracy should look into this matter.

[Karaulov] Who had squandered it?

[Rutskoy] Tarasov's Istok and other organizations of this kind.

[Karaulov] Is Russia going to fall apart? Do you think we will have our own Karabakhs?

[Rutskoy] Let us look at it this way: Decisiveness always involves fewer losses than indecisiveness. Had decisive steps been taken in Karabakh in time, perhaps 20 or 30 would have died. This is terrible, but it is still not the thousands that have died as a result of indecision. The same indecision and uncertainty have been displayed in respect to Checheno-Ingushetia. Now nobody knows where it will all end. The population in the republics of the Northern Caucasus is arming itself on an unprecedented scale. Lawlessness begets the deprivation of rights.

[Karaulov] So what can we do: Force all nations into the "one and indivisible"?

[Rutskoy] I have always stood for a single, indivisible Russia. The people will never forgive us if we splinter Russia into separate fiefdoms. Today, the same people who were so forcefully advocating the disintegration of the Union and finally did bring it to disintegration, are just as forcefully pushing Russia toward disintegration. At the same time, they accuse all their opponents of chauvinism, imperial mentality, and so on.

[Karaulov] Are you for Russia in its pre-1914 borders?

[Rutskoy] Imperial, prerevolutionary Russia will probably never come back. And the communist empire is probably also a thing of the past. But I do stand for a great and unitary Russia. And I have long proposed that our statehood be defined as indicated by history, not by today's whims. Europe cannot be only German, British, or French. The same goes for our future great Russia. It cannot be just Russian. Our people are united by something greater than mere economy. I do not have a handy recipe for this, but let us think of Russia together. Not of political intrigues here, in the White House, but of Russia.

[Karaulov] Does not everybody think of Russia here?

[Rutskoy] I do not know... On 21 August we had a victory for the democratic forces. What got in a way of uniting forces? I will tell you: the ambitions of political leaders. The White House has become a nest of intrigues. And now nobody knows where we are going and what our goal is...

[Karaulov] So what now: A bullet in the forehead?

[Rutskoy] That is a gratuitous remark. I have faced death more than once: in Afghanistan, when I ejected and the parachute opened just as I hit the ground; I lay in the hospital, looking at the ceiling and wondering whether I would survive; I did not know then that in 1988 I would be shot down again by a Sparrow missile and there would not be anything left of the plane. When you spend five days—wounded, without food, being pursued by the enemy—you unwittingly start thinking about the meaning of life. I have a certain view not only of the situation in the White House, but also of how to overcome the current national crisis. It is based only on democratic laws and common sense. I think that the government will understand it sooner or later. I also think that I will be understood and that there will never be any more talk that Vice President Rutskoy is about to become the head of a new State Committee for the State of Emergency. I believe in Russia, in the Russian people, and in common sense. That is why I do not give up and will go all the way...

Russia, Unions, Businessmen To Sign Accord

LD0201191892 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] A trilateral commission will start work today to draw up a general agreement for 1992 between the government, trade unions, and congress of business people, the first in Russian history. The draft agreement lays the foundation of a mechanism of social partnership with regard to resolving such important problems as ensuring a decent living standard for the inhabitants of Russia, assisting in the employment of the population, and ecological security. Ways of preventing and efficiently resolving labor and social conflicts were planned.

Trade Unions Head Cited on Government Reforms

PM0201094692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Gennadiy Shipitko report from the Palace of Labor in Moscow under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Trade Unions—an Education in Ultimatums"]

[Text] The 11th Plenum of the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions opened in the Palace of Labor 25 December. The report by chairman I. Klochkov took a tone of openly accusing the Russian Government of pursuing economic reforms at the working people's expense.

The decrees and resolutions drawn up by the RSFSR Government in connection with price liberalization, changes in taxation, and the establishment of a minimum wage and compensation were not agreed or discussed with the independent trade unions. The result of such actions, I. Klochkov believes, confronts the trade unions and working people "with the necessity to defend themselves, and in the most resolute way."

Judging by the debates at the plenum, the most extreme decisions can be expected. It is hard to foresee the reaction of the Russian Government and of G. Burbulis, who is present at the plenum. But it is almost impossible to predict the opinion of the plenum members, who represent 73 million working people.

Concepts of Foreign Trade Decrees Challenged

PM0301094192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Dec 91 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Kuznetsov article: "Will the Foreign Economy Keep Pace?"]

[Text] There is only a week remaining before the Decree on Liberalizing Foreign Economic Activity comes into full force. Though there is no certainty that the changes will begin with the New Year. For example will the government have time to resolve the problem of economic boundaries before 1 January? Igor Doronin, an expert from the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, considers that most probably the issue will be resolved at the forthcoming meeting in Minsk on 30 December. It is his opinion that of the three documents being prepared only one for the moment—"On the Licensing of and Establishment of Quotas for Exports and Imports..."—meets the demands of a market economy and world trade. The other two—"On the Introduction of an Export Tariff..." and "On the Formation of an RSFSR Republic Currency Reserve in 1992"—are compromise documents.

In accordance with new resolutions the opportunity for enterprises to earn currency is significantly increased. If under the old economic regime things were like in the film where—"the reds comes in and robs you [deliberately ungrammatical], and then the whites comes in and robs you," when enterprises, apart from a 40 percent presidential tax, had also to deduct currency for the republic and local organs of power, as a result of which 15-20 percent of the proceeds were left, under the new system they will be left with exactly one half. That is 40 percent will have to go on "servicing the foreign debt, stabilizing the ruble's market exchange rate and the import of necessities," and another 10 percent on forming an internal currency market. Doronin considers that this money will hardly be sufficient to even pay off the foreign debt. Taking as our basis the sum of $30 billion estimated as the export receipts for 1992, 40 percent of this will be about $10-12 billion. But this is precisely the volume of payments to pay off debts which Russia will have to pay its creditors.

Apart from this, if previously currency was sold to the state at a fixed commercial rate—on average 1.8 rubles to the dollar, now in accordance with the new regulations this rate will be no less than 50 percent of the market rate. In today's terms this is 50 rubles to the dollar. In this way the state will have to lay out 600 billion to buy currency from the enterprises next year. But the treasury does not possess such resources. What is to be done? And here the "most original" solution is being put forward. When the decree on an export tariff comes into effect, enterprises will have to pay a tax which is essentially equal to the sum which later will be returned to them to pay for the purchase of currency from them. It is only unclear what goal those behind this circulation of money have set themselves. The expert from the Institute of World Economics and International Relations says that maybe the Russian Government was too embarrassed to announce that the state will simply take 40 percent of the proceeds from the enterprises? Such a piling up of transactions will create complications in the system of credit relations. At first an enterprise will have to pay a huge sum to export its goods. As it has not got such money it will be forced to apply for temporary credit and subsequently, having sold its currency to the state, pay it off. But the system for this kind of credit is shaky here, and simply is not developed. And what commercial bank will agree to grant such a colossal sum to an enterprise. You can also assume that under conditions of the inevitable inflation a significant portion of the currency will lie idle in the owners' currency accounts and this will lead to the distortion of the currency market.

The decree on the introduction of an export tariff does not fit into international practice at all. Is it worth reinventing the wheel when the East European countries, in particular Poland, have already gone through all this. Leszek Balcerowicz, the mastermind of economic reforms in that country, was also perplexed by our indecisiveness in introducing the obligatory sale of all currency. Then the exchange rate of the ruble would also go down to something of the order of 20-30 to the dollar. Why are things happening differently? We, Doronin says, have tried to find out from the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and from the government, but we simply did not receive a reply. Maybe the powerful oil lobby or the military-industrial complex is active here? We do not know about that, but at the moment it is so happening that we are using rotten wood to build the foundations of market relations for foreign trade.

'Military Must Not Suffer' in New Year

PM0301100092 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jan 92 p 3

[New Year message to readers from Russian Vice Premier Doctor of Economic Sciences Yegor Gaydar under general heading "Is Our Locomotive Steaming Ahead?": "The Interests of the Military Must Not Suffer"]

[Text] As the New Year approaches, I would like to say to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers: We will try to do everything possible to ensure that the social interests of military people and our veterans do not suffer in the course of the radical economic reform. And our policy with regard to the defense budget is oriented—though, of course, within the limits of the possible—toward preserving as far as possible the priorities of the social program and payments relating to the Army. Today we can allow ourselves to save on certain types of arms and combat equipment, that is, to cut spending on weapons purchases. But we cannot allow ourselves to put the interests of defense in jeopardy or in any way to injure our army by reducing its social programs.

Today it is only a question of redistributing the proportion of participation by CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] members in the financing of the joint Armed Forces. It is already known that the Ukraine intends to take upon itself the maintenance of all ground forces sited on its territory. Azerbaijan's approach will probably be similar. In all, as of now (27 December 1991—editor) the financial policy of the former union republics as regards the military budget is only in the process of being formulated. But I repeat: We, the Russian Government, will do everything to ensure that no serviceman regrets having associated his future with the Army. I hope we will succeed in implementing all our plans. I believe we will. And incidentally I consider myself a sober optimist. My best New Year wishes to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers!

Mamedov Appointed Deputy Foreign Minister

PM0301111592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[RIA-TASS report under the general heading "In Brief"]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the Russian Government, has signed the document appointing Georgiy Mamedov Russian Federation deputy foreign minister. Previously, he headed the former USSR Ministry of External Relations United States and Canada Administration.

Nationwide Union Holds Congress, Elects Leader

PM0301110392 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Dec 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Patriots Unite"]

[Text] Over 400 delegates and guests took part in the the work of the congress of the Russian Nationwide [Obshchenarodnyy] Union [RNU] in Moscow 21 December. The congress, like the RNU movement itself, set itself the task of uniting all patriotic forces in the Russian Federation on the principles of the sovereignty of the people, patriotism, and justice, for the sake of reviving Russia, and this unification has taken place. Russian Federation People's Deputy Sergey Baburin was elected chairman of the RNU board.

National Rebirth Party Holds Founding Congress

PM0301110992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Dec 91 p 2

[V. Tanakov reprt: "Rebirth"]

[Text] The Founding Congress of the Russian Party of National Rebirth was held in Moscow last Saturday.

The party's program aim is the rebirth of the Russian nation and a single, indivisible Russia as well as the protection of Russian people everywhere regardless of their place of residence or abode.

Procurator General Interview on Coup, Crime

LD0201173492 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1245 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Interview with Russian Procurator General Valentin Stepankov by Anatoliy Fedorov on the events of the past year; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Fedorov] Valentin Georgiyevich, it is traditional on the eve of a new year to look over the results in order to enter the new year with a clear conscience, as they say, and with all ends tied up.

[Stepankov] For me, as the man in charge of the entire Russian system of procuracy bodies, the main issue of course is not the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency; the main thing is the condition and level of procuracy supervision in Russia and the extent to which this system is capable of defending the rights of citizens and strengthening the level of legality, which is still very, very low in our country.

So when I talk about results I have to say first of all that this past 15 November the Supreme Soviet adopted a political decision, serious in terms of its importance, to set up a single system of procuracy bodies in Russia. That put an end to the argument well loved by both theoreticians and a number of people's deputies about which system of authority the procuracy should be seen as belonging to. Should it be subject to the executive power, or should it be swallowed up by the judicial power and so on; for some reason they think the procuracy is claiming power. Through its resolution the Supreme Soviet put an end to these empty, theoretical arguments—if only for a time—having said that the procuracy is a surveillance body, a body which derives its authority from the hands of the Supreme Soviet; that is, the powers which the Supreme Soviet gives to the procurator general of Russia.

Also, everyone working at the procuracy has faced some serious trials this year. I am talking about the days of the coup d'etat, the seizure of power in the country. One must be fair; not all the staff and leaders of the procuracy were able to assess the situation correctly and to give it not a political assessment but the correct legal assessment. We have been obliged to be serious and searching in our approach to such members of the staff.

Nevertheless, in fulfilling the July decision of the Russian Supreme Soviet we are today carrying out the attestation of the procurators of the oblasts, krays, and republics that make up Russia and assessing their activity. Today nearly 80 percent of the top leaders of these procuracy bodies have already undergone this attestation. It has been carried out with the participation of people's deputies of Russia. The localities have been visited and opinions have been studied. Not all of them have survived this serious test; as of today we have already appointed new procurators in 24 oblasts and krays in our country.

[Fedorov] It is known that the USSR Procuracy no longer exists, but what has happened to the approximately 36,000 people who used to work on its staff? Where do they stand now after the elimination of both the USSR and the Union Procuracy in particular?

[Stepankov] This question was no longer an issue after the resolution to set up a single system was adopted by the Supreme Soviet on 15 November. A single system has been created on the territory of Russia. Similar independent procuracies have appeared in all the republics which have entered the Commonwealth of Independent States, and the elimination commission is now deciding the fate of just the central apparatus itself. This fate will be decided, first, both in accordance with labor legislation and the provisions of other legislation. Capable people dedicated to our cause and who understand the ideas that possess the minds of Russians today—for law enforcement bodies that means the ideas of judicial and legal reform—can of course count upon finding work in both the system of the Russian procuracy and in city and oblast procuracies in our republic.

[Fedorov] This brings us to the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Could you say a few words about it?

[Stepankov] In general a case is regarded as complete when the procurator confirms the formal charge. It is a question of completing the basic stage of the investigation; that is, when we believe that all the investigative actions necessary for the collection of evidence confirming guilt or innocence have been put together and we can present the material to the accused, with their lawyers, so they can familiarize themselves with the case.

Bearing in mind, however, the fact that three of the accused are receiving treatment in the hospital—Grushko, Boldin, and Varennikov—we cannot declare that the investigation has been completed, and that would be the last action of the investigation. Therefore, when this treatment is.... [changes thought] When their states of health permit it, we will start familiarizing them with the material of the criminal case. As of today it already totals 100 volumes.

[Fedorov] You spoke about pressure being put on the investigation and you personally, particularly when there was talk about the discovery of material on gold belonging to the party. Is any pressure being put on you now?

[Stepankov] The investigation into the party's money is a separate criminal case. It is being dealt with by a separate group of investigators. It has revealed some fairly serious actions; not just financial ones, but serious political ones, too, which could have inflicted serious political damage upon our state structures if they had been made public at the time. Nevertheless, we are investigating all these issues by the proper means.

Throughout the entire investigation I have not run into any opposition from any president, Supreme Soviets, or commissions set up by the Russian and Union parliaments. We have been working in the way provided by law. Public opinion, however, is still being deliberately shaped by a number of members of the mass media against the procuracy, Russia, and of course against its leader; they understand that he holds the key to this case. Of course, it is difficult for me to say what is playing the greater part in this. [passage omitted]

[Fedorov] To conclude our discussion of the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, is Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev going to be summoned as a witness or in connection with some other investigatory action?

[Stepankov] When the formal charge is drawn up we also compile a list of individuals who should be called in. The name of Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeyevich, will also be on the draft of this list of people who we believe will be needed by the court to establish the truth. [passage omitted]

[Fedorov] In conclusion, have you any overall figures about the general level of crime and criminality in Russia? If possible, could you give some figures and comment on them?

[Stepankov] Overall, crime has increased 20 percent. This year there will be in excess of 2 million crimes.

[Fedorov] Is that just the number of recorded crimes?

[Stepankov] Yes, yes, the number of crimes of greed continues to rise; the lion's share of all crime is accounted for by thefts of personal and state property. The detection rate for these is somewhere around 30 percent, thefts I mean. Crimes involving attempts against the lives of citizens and their health are also increasing. We do not have any comforting predictions for next year. Furthermore, the both the procuracy and law enforcement bodies are entering the new year in a weakened state. Many professionals have left our ranks due to dissatisfaction with the work itself and the level of social protection. We are losing our people and timetables are subsequently lengthening. Our judicial system is experiencing the same thing. It is far from the truth, therefore, to say that we have moved forward this year in terms of the level of protection given to the people. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet

Security Council Law To Be Submitted 17 Jan

OW0201205392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1918 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to IF [INTERFAX] sources, a law of the Russian Federation on the security council has been drafted and is expected to be submitted to parliament on January 17.

According to the draft law, the Security Council, led by the Russian president, shall be a federal body that would define the security aspects of Russia's domestic and foreign policies. The Security Council shall also tackle the strategic aspects of the economic, information, social, state and defence security, draft ways of preventing extraordinary situations and dealing with their consequences, and ensure stability, law and order. This council shall be accountable to the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet for ensuring the security of the individual, of society and of the state.

The Security Council's decisions shall be checked for compliance to the Russian Constitution exclusively by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation.

Treaty Debates With Lithuania May Be 'Uneasy'

OW0201202792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1911 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vladimir Lisin, member of the working group on ratification of the treaties with the Baltics, told BF [BALTFAX] that some Russian parliamentarians "doubt about the democratic character of the Lithuanian current leadership's policy." Therefore, parliamentary debates on ratification of the Russian-Lithuania treaty scheduled for January 14 are likely to be uneasy. He also said that the work on agreements designed to "fill the bilateral treaties between Russia and the Baltics with real content is very complicated." The sides have particular differences over the border and citizenship issues. However, the economic agreements can be worked out by April.

Nevertheless, the working group believes that despite all the difficulties the Russian parliament must ratify the bilateral treaties with the Baltics in order to "protect the Russian speaking population" living there.

Disregard for Procedural Rules Criticized

PM0201163792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 91 Union Edition p 10

[Article by Yu. Feofanov: "A Few Minutes To Rename the State... Is Not Enough..."]

[Text] It was a clever, even ingenious move. The president was addressing a session of the Russian parliament when the following question was put to him: On what basis had he arbitrarily changed the name of the state of which he is head when he signed the Alma-Ata agreement? He had taken the oath of allegiance to the RSFSR, but something else figures in the documents. The chairman got Boris Nikolayevich off the hook easily by proposing they move to an immediate vote in favor of the country's new name. A vote was taken—a roll-call vote even.

The need for an answer passed. The question, however, remains. Okay, let us grant that the "socialist" federation no longer exists, although the means of production and the ownership and division of property remain the same for the time being. And "soviet" federation? Does a change of title mean a change in the system of power? Does this mean that the soviets have been abolished by a vote taken "on the nod"? Or what?

Although discussion is not now about the substance of the Russian Federation's state system, there will still be ardent debate and even referendums. Much has to be changed. But, as Machiavelli, who knew a thing or two about affairs of state, warned, there is nothing more dangerous than replacing old practices with new ones. It was all right, some will retort, for an Italian to have written instructions for rulers. But when time and circumstances press? When an almost instant response is needed? But there are two routes open here, and it is the lot of those that hold the reins of power to choose one of them: Either you cut the Gordian knot by the sword or you untangle it by means of the law.

I am comparing the election of the two presidents—the Union and the Russian. Remember that Gorbachev arose as president almost out of the blue. One day he himself completely ruled out this form of rule. But then the next day he so ardently strove to convince deputies that therein lay salvation and argued so persuasively in favor of the law on the presidency that it was instantly adopted, the president elected, and the state system shaken up almost "on the nod."

And how many times were words about procedure heard in the Union Supreme Soviet, how much time was spent on votes about votes—ordinary or roll-call—on the most futile questions. How often deputies were interrupted with the words "Laws must not be passed 'on the nod,' they must be worked through in the committees and commissions." But then the prominent lawyer A. Yakovlev was to come to the rostrum. He was delivering a report on judicial reform. A question came from the body of the hall: "How do you regard the jury?" "I regard it positively," answered Aleksandr Maksimovich. [And the rejoinder was:] "So do something about it..."

The lawyer was at a loss. "Here, while I am on the rostrum?" "Well, it's an urgent issue." And they took a vote. But without realizing, in my opinion, what they were voting in favor of, for the jury is no mere expansion of the composition of the bench. It represents a fundamentally different system of judicial proceedings.

Everything must change on its introduction—the role of the judge, the participation of citizens, and "judicial ethics" And here "on the nod"! But they still judge in the old way—only worse.

The Gordian knots do nevertheless have to be cut—the circumstances demand it. The "Minsk process" ran counter to the USSR Constitution, and it has been justified, just as revolution generated by "boiling point" being reached is justified. And it is not the first, explosive step that determines its legality. It is the second step of the revolution that makes a claim for the legitimacy of power or its usurpation...

If you now glance at the records of the creation of the United Nations, you can see how months were spent on tedious debate over regulations and procedure. It was painstaking work designed to combine by law all the multifarious traditions and interests of the affiliating nations into something acceptable to all... I have closely followed the first months of the Russian parliament's work. For all the clashes among the groups and factions and the fever pitch of emotions, it has not split up into partisan enclaves.

And suddenly it is as if the supreme assembly has been replaced. The same Law on the Press. Passed "on the nod" given by the prosecutor. Now, it is said, whether they repeal it themselves or a "veto" is applied, it is quite possible that everything will remain thus. We are not talking about the crux of the matter—about the legal canon. Procedure alone demands that legislators compare their new act with the Basic Law and the right to freedom of expression and freedom of the press enshrined in it. Is this right encroached upon, is it repudiated or not? Russian parliamentarians have adopted a Declaration of Human Rights: They have confirmed the priority of common human values and international norms. Has the Russian press thrown aside all restraint? Does it need to be curbed? All right, go ahead, only validate your decision and accompany it with the aforementioned legal foundations.

If this were to be attempted, it would be impossible to validate press restrictions in any way.

The RSFSR's renaming as the RF [Russian Federation] or Russia seems to me timely and necessary. Not just because the new title is better. But because the replacement of a decrepit system lies behind the change of abbreviation. Only this should have been done in a valid, civilized way, as we say nowadays, rather than by playing with the instruments of sovereign office. The euphoria of election constantly prompts us to think that "we can do everything once we are the power." But in a democracy the legislator is the most unfree of citizens in relation to the law. Such is the paradox of democracy. A dialectical contradiction, as we have been taught.

International Affairs

Kozyrev Discusses CIS, Diplomatic Relations

OW0201170092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1604 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Reports by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **The Future of The "Union Legacy" Abroad and Russia's Position**

"Although they have become independent states, some of the republics of the former Soviet Union still have their old way of thinking," the Russian foreign minister, Mr Andrey Kozyrev, said today in an interview given to IF [INTERFAX] and the Vesti TV programme. "They still believe there are union embassies which represent all the republics. But this is impossible for the sole reason that not all the republics have been recognised in the world and some will be recognised later than others."

Mr. Kozyrev described this attitude as "mental inertia". "They wanted to be independent, now they have to learn to be that," he said.

He emphasised that Russia had been recognised throughout the world as a legal successor of the USSR, which naturally meant that the Soviet embassies had been recognised as Russian ones. But this did not mean that other republics of the former Soviet Union could not make use of these enbassies for their own purposes.

"The Russian embassies should help other republics get established in the world," the minister said. "We are prepared to give each of them an opportunity to make use of the infrastructures of our embassies."

At the same time, some of the republics would like to open their own embassies in some countries. "This is inevitable in some cases," Mr. Kozyrev said. For example if a foreign country opened its embassy in Kiev or Alma-Ata there had to be a reciprocal act on the part of the Ukraine or Kazakhstan.

But even in such cases, Mr. Kozyrev pointed out, Russia was willing to allot to these republics part of the former union property as aid. Kazakhstan, for instance, could use the property in some country or other to which it was entitled to set up its own embassy in that country.

In Mr. Kozyrev's opinion, this was a "technical matter". The agreements reached in Minsk provided a good basis for settling it "in a friendly way". He was confident that in practice Russia would have no problems with any of the former union republics. The Russian government believed this and other matters should be considered at a meeting of the foreign ministers of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member states.

CIS Foreign Ministers' Meeting

When such a meeting will take place is, the foreign minister said, a matter which is being discussed at the moment. A decision to that effect might be taken "any day now". Any date would suit Russia, he said, but the final decision is up to the other republics.

Another matter being discussed at present was where the meeting was to be held. Russia had no objections to any place, the minister said. "We'll be glad if the meeting is held in Moscow, and we'll be equally glad to go to Minsk if we're invited." This is another "purely technical" matter, he emphasised.

The Russian Foreign Ministry

According to Mr. Kozyrev, the foreign ministries of Russia and the former USSR are at present working jointly for common purposes. He said the staff of the former Union ministry were experienced professionals who should stay in their jobs. He admitted that at first the USSR Foreign Ministry staff were demoralised by the "collapse of the Centre". But at the moment their spirits were going up. They had acquired a specific purpose to secure a proper place in the world for democratic Russia. Thus the Foreign Ministry was "getting its second wind", Mr. Kozyrev summed up.

Bakatin's Decision

Mr. Vadim Bakatin's decision to give over the bugging devices installed in the new building of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow to the USA was, in Mr. Kozyrev's view, "politically justifiable and correct". "It shows the world our new face and our willingness to clean the Augean stables of the old days." Mr. Kozyrev did not think the decision had created a precedent. "It does not mean we are prepared to reveal all our technical secrets." And this was how it was assessed in the world, he emphasised.

Meets With U.S. Senator

LD0201143792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev received American diplomatic veteran Claiborne Pell, chairman of the [Senate] Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Congress. The main subject of their conversation was control of nuclear weapons on the territory of the former USSR. All things considered, Senator Pell was satisfied with the way control is now being exercised over the huge number of nuclear weapons on the territory of the CIS.

[Begin Pell recording in English fading to Russian translation] I think this question is being resolved as successfully as it can be. [end recording]

[Announcer] The senator was especially reassured by the fact that nuclear weapons remain under a single command. He also said that the American side was willing to provide assistance with the elimination of nuclear weapons on the territory of the CIS and awaited an invitation from Soviet military experts to embark on their destruction. [video shows Kozyrev and Pell in conversation]

Foreign Ministry Assesses Salvadoran Agreement

LD0201204192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 2 Jan 92

["Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry Statement on El Salvador"—TASS headline; by TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jan (TASS)—Yet another round of negotiations between El Salvador's government representatives and the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] was marked by the achievement of fundamentally important agreements which open a real path to a cessation of the armed confrontation which has been going on in this country for 12 years. This is said in a statement published today on the settlement in El Salvador.

The document notes that the achievement of these agreements can rightfully be considered a landmark event which is very significant for the normalization of the situation not only in El Salvador but throughout the entire region. The statement gives its due to the responsible and well-balanced approach shown during the negotiations by the representatives of the sides involved in the conflict. The statement stresses the constructive role played by the United Nations, Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, and the other states involved.

We appeal to the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN leadership to take all the necessary measures before these agreements come into effect to eliminate the possibility of new aggravations of the situation taking place or a breakdown in the process of national reconciliation which has started to take shape.

Japan Agrees on Preparations for Yeltsin Visit

LD0301082192 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 3 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo January 3 TASS—Moscow and Tokyo diplomats have reached a preliminary agreement on President Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Japan in June and July 1992.

The newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN today cites a government source as saying that in order to prepare the visit, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will visit Tokyo in March and his Japanese counterpart Michio Watanabe will arrive in Moscow in May.

The government source said the complex economic situation in Russia may prevent the Russian President from paying the visit in June or July. The local climate is another problem: Foreign leaders seldom visit Tokyo in summer as a heat wave may spoil the traditional ceremony held outdoors.

During his new year news conference, Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa called for prompt summit contacts with Moscow. Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe is due to fly to Moscow at the end of January to attend an international gathering devoted to Middle East problems. He intends to seek a meeting with Boris Yeltsin.

Ministry Supports UN Authority in Cambodia

LD0201145792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1422 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jan (TASS)—The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has expressed deep regret in connection with the recent mass unrest in the Cambodian capital and has called for the United Nations to urgently exercise temporary authority in Cambodia.

"In Moscow they are proceeding from the fact that the UN operation in Cambodia should be implemented strictly in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Paris agreements, under conditions of peace and observance of human rights in this country," it notes in the statement by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs circulated today. "The latest events allow the conclusion to be drawn that there is a need for the United Nations (UNTAG) [United Nations Transition Assistance Group] to urgently exercise temporary authority in Cambodia, possibly right at the very beginning of 1992. For its part, Russia is prepared to participate in this together with the other interested states.

Zimbabwe Recalls Ambassador for Consultations

PM0301100392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 91 p 5

[Igor Tarutin report: "Power Slipped From Hands"]

[Text] Harare—Zimbabwe has decided to recall its ambassador in Moscow for consultations. However, this does not mean that the Zimbabwean diplomatic mission in Russia will be reduced, Foreign Minister N. Shamuyarira stated.

The minister indicated that even after the disintegration of the Soviet Union his country retains significant interests on the territory of the former USSR. Suffice at least to recall the large number of Zimbabwean students studying there.

New Russian Ambassador to France Appointed

PM0201143892 Paris LE MONDE in French 29-30 Dec 91 p 5

["M.T." report: "Yuriy Ryzhov, First Russian Ambassador to Paris"]

[Excerpt] Yuriy Ryzhov, member of the Academy of Sciences of the former USSR, has been appointed by Mr. Yeltsin as Russia's next ambassador to France, according to reliable sources. He replaces Mr. Dubinin, the last Soviet ambassador who was recalled to Moscow shortly after the abortive August coup. [passage omitted]

Belarus

Republic Introduces Coupon Trade System

LD0201203992 Moscow Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Report over video by correspondent A. Guretskiy; from the "Novosti" newscast presented by Sergey Medvedev]

[Text] Belarus is actually going to introduce its coupon system of trade tomorrow.

[Guretskiy] It seems as though it is going to take some time for the man in the street to experience the easing of his burden that he seeks. According to the Belarus Finance Ministry, the main reason for introducing a coupon system is not to market goods, but to keep them in the shops longer, to accumulate them. That is why it has been decided to match the issue of coupons exactly to the quantity of goods available. Neither the consumer nor, evidently, the authorities, however, believe in this ideal scheme. It is being openly admitted that, because of the shortage of paper and printing capacity, it is not possible to print 100 million coupons, the quantity required for a month.

Consumer Prices To Increase 3-5 Times

OW0201181592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1716 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] In Belarus prices of consumer goods and services will go up 3-5 times January 3.

A resolution by the Belarussian Council of Ministers says price increases will not apply to bread, milk, dairy products, children's food, meat (except canned meat), smoked and semi-smoked sausages. Apartment rents, as well as hostel rents, will remain unchanged.

On January 3 Belarus will also introduce the coupons for foodstuffs and consumer goods. They will make up 40% of people's salaries.

First Deputy Trade Minister of Belarus Grigoriy Kravchenko said that the coupon system is designed to protect the market from a huge amount of rubles accumulated in the republic.

Shaposhnikov Begins Commonwealth Tour

LD0201133392 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 2 Jan 92

[By BELTA correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk January 2 TASS—Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov arrived in Minsk today on the first leg of his tour of the Commonwealth member-countries and military districts.

BELTA learned from well-informed sources that the tour, planned in the wake of the Commonwealth summit in Minsk on December 30, aims to specify details of the military doctrine the group headed by the marshal is expected to draft before the next meeting of the leaders of the Commonwealth member-states.

Today, Shaposhnikov met the leaders of the Belarussian Military District and the Belarussian Defense Ministry.

Later today he is due to meet Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic of Belarus.

Official Describes Talks With Austria

PM0201123592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 91 p 5

[Interview with Mikhail Myasnikovich, first deputy chairman of Belarus Council of Ministers, by Igor Melnikov in Vienna; date not given: "Belarussian Deputy Prime Minister in Austria. We Were Thoroughly 'Probed'"]

[Text] At a time when the dismantling of Union structures is being completed in Moscow, the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] are stepping up their foreign policy contacts. Mikhail Myasnikovich, first deputy chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers, has just visited the Austrian capital of Vienna. Our conversation was held when the visit's program had ended.

[Melnikov] Figuratively speaking, you have stepped into the waters of a completely new river—you have represented a sovereign state here. What made the meetings in Vienna noteworthy?

[Myasnikovich] You have partially answered your own question. In the past, Belarus's statehood was not fleshed out with the corresponding sovereignty, although the republic was a member of the United Nations and other international organizations. The present meetings with Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Foreign Minister Alois Mock, their tone and content, testify to the fact that the dialogue was held between representatives of two sovereign states.

[Melnikov] Was the subject of Austria's recognition of Belarus and the setting up of diplomatic relations broached?

[Myasnikovich] Yes, it was, in very precise terms, in my conversation with Foreign Minister Mock. The main aim of the visit was to clarify the Austrian Government's viewpoint on this subject. The minister said that Austrian diplomats will visit the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Belarus at the beginning of next year, which will be the first step on the road to the recognition of the new states and the establishment of diplomatic relations with them.

[Melnikov] What were the most characteristic questions that the Austrian side asked?

[Myasnikovich] Well, for example, how we see our republic within the framework of the Commonwealth. The chancellor wondered whether the CIS is a modified version of the old Union. Our interlocutors inquired as to the way in which economic reforms would be carried out in Belarus and the way cooperation would be regulated between our new states. I answered that the market path had definitely been chosen, but in connection with the prevailing conditions, certain elements in economic life nevertheless have to be regulated at state level.

[Melnikov] Was the subject of assistance to the victims of the Chernobyl disaster broached?

[Myasnikovich] We expressed our gratitude to Austria for the acts of assistance it has already carried out. Further steps were also outlined. The small European country is really rendering us a great deal of assistance.

[Melnikov] Now a "daring" question—about the safety margin of our power structures. Do you not have the impression that that margin has now been used up?

[Myasnikovich] No, this was not expressed in what the chancellor or the foreign minister said, or indeed what the entrepreneurs said. Conversely, there was complete understanding and even a joint elaboration of approaches. However, they "probed" us thoroughly: How do you understand privatization, at what speed will you implement it, what is behind private ownership of the land, how high will prices be following their liberalization; and so on.

Moldova

Unification With Romania Possible in '92

OW0201173592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1524 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] 1992 might become the year of Moldova's reunification with Romania, said the National Council for Reunification in its New Year's address published in Moldova. Formed last month, the council comprises 46 Moldovan MPs [members of parliament] and 61 members of Romania's National Assembly in the capacity of founders.

According to the address, "the disintegration of the Soviet empire created real preconditions for liquidating the consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, for reestablishing historic justice and for securing reunification with the Motherland."

Ion Tsurkanu, secretary of Moldova's parliament, says that the parliament will split and get dissolved, unless the supporters of reunification win the upcoming referendum. Such a referendum might take place after the ratification of the treaty on forming the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], he told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent. The CIS has no prospects, he said. In principle Tsurkanu has nothing against the CIS. Nevertheless he believes that Moldova's President Snegur ought to have consulted the parliament and the leadership of Romania about it. "We must not be oriented solely to the East", said Tsurkanu. "We must also cooperate with our brothers from across the River Prut."

Snegur's Spokesman Assesses Minsk Meeting

AU0101154392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 1 Jan 92

[Text] In a statement made in Chisinau [Kishinev] to our special envoy, the spokesman of the Moldovan president emphasized that the satisfactory result of the Minsk meeting depended to a great extent on the signing of the provisional accord on the council of the chiefs of states and the council of the chiefs of government of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], an accord that stipulates two provisions: Each state is entitled to a single vote within the framework of the council, and the decisions made by it are adopted on the basis of a consensus—that is, the right to veto these decisions is recognized. Each state is entitled to declare lack of interest in certain problems under discussion.

The spokesman said that President Mircea Snegur has already made use of this right by not signing—like the Ukraine—the accord on the joint activity in the area of research and utilization of outer space.

Referring to Moldova's position on the accord on strategic forces, the presidential spokesman said that this accord ceases its action on the territory of the states from which the strategic forces will be withdrawn. In connection with the Armed Forces and border guards, the positions of Moldova, the Ukraine, and Azerbaijan caused a radical change in this accord. The CIS member states confirm their legitimate right to create their own Armed Forces. In two months, the spokesman added, the question regarding the system of the leadership of the Armed Forces will be examined and solved in conformity with national laws.

The accord on the assets possessed by the former Soviet Union abroad stipulates that each CIS member is entitled to a certain part of these assets, the spokesman continued.

Also in Minsk, the chiefs of government of the Commonwealth member states signed an accord on the principles and conditions of mutual relations in transportation, as well as five protocols on finance, tariff, and credit policy and on questions regarding the coordination of statistics and transportation activities.

The spokesman specified that at this meeting Moldova was represented by First Deputy Prime Minister Andrey Sangheli.

President's Decree Introduces Value Added Tax

LD0301114992 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Decree by the president of Moldova on value added tax, VAT—announcer read]

[Text] In connection with the liberalization of prices and the adoption of a corresponding law of the republic of Moldova, I decree:

The abolition of turnover tax and sales tax and the introduction of VAT at a rate of 28 percent. VAT is to apply to turnover for marketing goods, including technical industrial goods, work carried out, and services rendered. VAT is to be paid by legal entities, irrespective of the type of property and form of management, and individual, family, and private enterprises carrying out production and commercial activity.

VAT will be exempt from being paid on urban and [word indistinct] transportation apart from taxis, rents for apartments, value redeemed during the process of privatization of state enterprises, and also lease payments for leasehold enterprises formed on the basis of state enterprises, operations for insurance [words indistinct] operations conducted on deposits [words indistinct], operations connected with conversion of hard currency which is a legal means of payment [words indistinct] and also services supplied by lawyers and translators of foreign languages, turnover from gaming machines, services in the public education area connected with the production training process, payment for coaching children and adolescents. [passage indistict]

The VAT is to paid into the budget each month. [passage indistinct] This decree comes into effect from 2 January 1992.

[Signed] Mircea Snegur, president of the republic of Moldova

Ukraine

Kravchuk Reflects on '91, Views '92

LD0201222392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2125 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk by correspondent V. Lyaskalo in Kravchuk's office in Kiev on 31 December—recorded]

[Text] [Lyaskalo] The new year is always a period of predictions and taking stock. It seems to me that the past year could be called a year of unpredictable events and phenomena. Do you think that the incoming year of 1992 could turn out to be a year of predictable events and the fulfillment of wishes for politicians, economists, businessmen, and the rest of the people, for everyone living in Russia and the Ukraine?

[Kravchuk] I would first like to thank the All-Russian Television Company for giving me an opportunity to address the Russians. That is another unpredictable thing. Another event that had been unpredictable will take place next year: Central Television is to be replaced by the Commonwealth Television Company [telekompaniya sodruzhesto], which will cover the lives of the peoples of all republics. So you can see that many unpredictable things have happened in your lives as journalists, television journalists.

But those are positive unpredictable events. In fact, last year they were not all good. There were difficulties, there were conflicts, and peoples of all nationalities—Russians and Ukrainians—experienced personal dissatisfaction. But we are still seeing out the old year with a good feeling. It was a year that brought freedom to all peoples. Freedom is the greatest feeling that can be given to man. That is what the year brought.

For now this freedom is perhaps not entirely in accordance with civilized ideas, and we must use it properly. I think the meetings at Belovezhskaya Pushcha and at Alma-Ata—and yesterday we returned from Minsk—would give one grounds to suppose that we agreed on the main point: that we should work together on issues that are of common interest to us, and there are a lot of them.

That, it seems to me, was the main and most important result of 1991. We created a commonwealth of peoples based on completely different principles, respect, and real independence. The unpredictability of next year will result from how we start to implement the documents and agreements that we have already signed. We have already produced a mass of decisions and documents that need to be implemented. If in the first few days of the new year we begin to respect our own agreements, if we start on and do not detour from the road of respect for one another and for national legislation, we will indeed build a new commonwealth, and people will live in it with confidence in tomorrow. That is the first thing I want to say.

The second is this: I believe that next year's predictability will depend not only on the desires of the heads of state or the heads of government; it will depend to a large extent on the people themselves. I understand that it is hard today to tell Russians to be patient, just as I cannot tell Ukrainians to be patient. People want a better life than they had yesterday, and they want it today. All these difficulties, both economic and social, free prices and liberalization—we are already beginning to feel these words tangibly in our lives. Tomorrow the feeling will be even harder, and that is the truth. But we cannot say any other words today. We are appealing to everybody. Only unity, patience, and hard work can give us a chance to escape from these extraordinary difficulties. It is unrealistic to hope that somebody will solve these problems for us.

Third, I would like to say that Ukrainians and Russians have a good tradition: In the hardest of times, they take on the hardest of tasks. This also applies to Belarus. In the hour of the greatest complications in our life—and this is no exaggeration—in the hour when we had all turned into a dead end and might have been trapped in the wreckage of the collapsed empire, we found a solution and took on the greatest responsibility. We must be responsible for that which we have undertaken. I am certain that we all have sufficient wisdom, tact, and respect, enough of everything needed to solve these most complex problems.

[Lyaskalo] To get us to come to grips with a great task, it is necessary to make us angry, to drive our patience to the limit; then every task will be within our power. Clearly such a moment has already arrived. Our ancestors would look at us today and wonder what is preventing us from feeding each other and ourselves.

[Kravchuk] That is right. There is no denying that all our people know how to work. In terms of science, culture, or simply production, we have the greatest discoveries, the greatest flights of poetic and spiritual thought. They are a sign, the inner content of our people, I would say. All the same, however, the system which existed for so long weaned people away from being directly responsible for themselves. That is the most difficult thing. How did everybody think: There's the state, a good uncle, and it must do it—a good father, a father. We are the state, the state guarantees everything, the state will give everything.

Now when we encounter rallies on the streets, it is this: Why don't you increase wages, why don't you give, why aren't you doing something?

States throughout the world do not occupy themselves with these things. Man himself is involved in production and provides for himself and, to be accurate, for others too. What should the state do? It should create the conditions, create laws and normative documents which will bring people closer together, which will increase their responsibility, which will not split them, which will help so that people have to compromise with each other at work, in spiritual matters, language, culture. This will be done, without question, if—I repeat again—we respect each other.

We have become accustomed to living in a unitary state. Everything that was done was done from the viewpoint of this unitary state. But what sort of unitary state was this? What was special about it? It had a center of sorts. Around itself it gathered some structures and forces, and these structures and forces administered the entire life of all the peoples, regardless of those peoples' interests, including those of the Russian people. I say this without exaggeration; as far as the consequences of this system are concerned, the Russian people may actually have suffered more from it than other peoples.

It is being said today that the Ukraine and others have detached themselves, that this will lead to the breakup of the family in terms of our way of life—railways and air tickets, for example. All kinds of fanciful suggestions are being heard these days. It is being suggested that it will no longer be possible to visit each other, that it will no longer be possible to resolve questions of various kinds.

That will never be the case. We are saying—what was meant when Boris Nikolayevich referred to the transparency of borders was freedom of movement, freedom of information, and freedom to resolve all problems that arise within the family, problems of living, spiritual problems. This freedom really will be genuine, genuine. There is no need to reproach anyone for wishing to be master on his own soil. The Ukrainians should be masters on their own soil and the Russians on theirs. We should organize normal relations with each other and ensure that nobody suspects anybody else of anything. Nobody should feel that he is maintaining somebody else at his own expense, that somebody is carrying someone else on his shoulders, that somebody is senior and someone else junior, that somebody is bigger and someone else smaller. If we dispense with all these stereotypes—and we definitely will do so—we will enjoy a really genuine, really great friendship with solid foundations. This friendship will be a natural one. Our history, our roots, our past, and the ties we have today require that this should be so.

We in the Ukraine say and constantly stress that we regard our policy toward Russia as a priority policy. This is not just because around 12 million Russians live in the Ukraine. There are also Ukrainians living in Russia, and they are our common concern. We want the Ukrainians living in Russia to have their own schools there, just as Russians have their own here in the Ukraine. We want them to have their own newspapers there, just as Russians in the Ukraine have their own.

[Lyaskalo] What are your final wishes?

[Kravchuk] I would again like to take this opportunity to wish Russians and those near to them good health, to wish that the year ahead, the New Year, this year of hope, will really be a joyous year for each of them. In turning the pages of the past—and this is what we are doing, both in a public and personal sense—I hope that we will always think of the future. I hope that this future will not merely be a dream—good as it may be—not merely a romantic fairy tale. I want it to be a future that we, all the peoples living in the expanses of the former Union, are jointly approaching.

[Lyaskalo] Thank you.

On France as Model for Kiev

PM0201161492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report on interview with Ukrainian President L.M. Kravchuk by correspondent V. Nadein; place and date not given: "President Leonid Kravchuk: Our Neighbors Will Have To Get Used to a Lot of News From the Ukraine"]

[Text] France is a model for independent Ukraine, but until we have drawn up a national constitution and adopted complete laws, we will not follow the letter of existing rules too scrupulously, the recently elected Ukrainian President L.M. Kravchuk said in an interview he gave to IZVESTIYA's correspondent on the eve of his trip to Alma-Ata.

Ukraine Will No Longer Concede Even 1 Percent of Power to Anyone

L. Kravchuk is very cautious in his approach to the problem of forming his own presidential team, taking into account that this proved critical for M. Gorbachev and very serious for B. Yeltsin, who is already experiencing the consequences of differences with his Vice President Rutskoy. "I do not have a team yet, but I have decided on the principles on which it will be formed," the Ukrainian president says, listing these principles in the following order.

First, it should be the team of a truly independent state. "We have hitherto formed teams that were responsible for only a certain percentage of their duties," Leonid Makarovich said. "Say, 70 percent of the decisions were up to Moscow and 30 percent up to the Ukraine. Or 95 percent for Moscow and only 5 percent for Kiev." The new team should be psychologically prepared for the fact that the Ukraine will no longer share even 1 percent of its power with anyone.

Second, the team members must be capable of ensuring the transition to new ways of acting in the sphere of the economy, culture, and state organization. "We cannot rely on having sufficient people who are free from dogmas and stereotypes," the president said. "That is, many people think that they themselves are free from dogmas, when this is far from true. The majority don't think about it at all."

Last, L. Kravchuk named as the third important principle the professionalism of his team. He said that there will certainly be no room in it for specialists in "generalities," although the professionals themselves "must be capable of overcoming the stereotypes we lived by for more than 70 years."

Judging by the president's remarks, one of the stereotypes that is widespread outside the Ukraine is the stubborn reluctance of many figures from the former center to recognize the new realities. In particular, when asked whether those parties and political organizations whose centers are in Moscow will be permitted to operate on Ukrainian territory, L. Kravchuk replied with an unequivocal "no." He again answered with a brief "no" to a supplementary question on how this applies to liberal organizations like, say, the Movement for Democratic Reforms, headed by A.N. Yakovlev, E.A. Shevardnadze, and other respected leaders.

"People have to get used to the idea that in this respect Moscow is, for us, no different from Paris, Warsaw, or any other capital," Kravchuk said. "Of course, if it is a question of some kind of humanitarian organization, then OK. But no political party that is essentially a branch of a foreign organization will be entitled to exist here."

Dubious Prospects for the Present Supreme Soviet

The president spoke critically of the nature of the activity of the present Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. "Our current legislative authority is very unwilling to part with its administrative functions," he said. "They would like to set up banks and control them and the entire financial system. They cannot shake off this damaging desire (to interfere in the affairs of the executive), which leads to confusion of responsibility, resulting in irresponsibility."

L. Kravchuk was skeptical about the probability of the present parliament's being able to preserve its powers for the full duration of the term designated under the existing constitution. "This Supreme Soviet should see for itself that its time may have run out," the president said. "But before going, it could do two great things. First, draw up a draft new Constitution and submit it for nationwide discussion. Second, adopt a law on elections to ensure that the next elections are genuinely democratic and take place on a multiparty basis."

Here L. Kravchuk noted, not without pride, that observers from many countries of the world did not detect a single infringement during the recent presidential elections and referendum on independence. U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, who visited the Ukraine, described the elections in the Ukraine, according to L. Kravchuk, as "irreproachable and exemplary."

The Soviet Army and the "Russian Card"

The president again reaffirmed the Ukraine's desire to completely get rid of nuclear weapons from the country's territory, linking this, in particular, with the psychological shock of Chernobyl. Denying both the immediate and the distant possibility of the leader of Russia or any other individual being granted the sole right to control the strategic weapons sited in the Ukraine, L. Kravchuk put forward the original concept of collective responsibility, which is necessary in the transitional period.

"It should be control over the nonuse of nuclear weapons. I emphasize: not use, but nonuse. Why is the 'nuclear button' generally associated with the idea of someone pressing it, of a launch? It is technically possible to block the 'button' so that neither Kravchuk in the Ukraine nor Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan could act willfully."

Speaking about the longer-term future, Kravchuk stated that his country will not object to the Russian president's being supreme commander in chief of the strategic forces, "but on the essential condition that our strategic missiles and tactical nuclear weapons are taken off alert status. That is to say, the nuclear weapons exist, but they cannot be launched. In that event, the world will know that the Ukraine is not responsible for such a disaster, heaven forbid."

However, on the question of conventional armed forces, L.M. Kravchuk was unequivocal and categorical. As he put it, "there are no problems at all with tactical forces." To be precise: All the troops stationed on Ukrainian territory must be wholly and entirely under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian president, who is commander in chief. "The Balts say that the troops should leave their territory, but we do not say this," the president said. In this connection the ethnic composition of the remaining troops is of no importance. The government will not seek to the slightest degree to replace Russians with Ukrainians or to recall Ukrainians currently serving in other Commonwealth states.

"The Soviet Army is basically a Russian-Ukrainian army. We have received 300,000 letters from Ukrainian officers asking to be given places in our country's army. But we cannot demand this. If we did, we would have to make provision for their return, and therefore also for the resettlement of those who are living here. That would mean a major population migration and would lead to confrontation."

Although a congress of Ukrainians living outside the Ukraine is due to be held in Kiev in early January and L. Kravchuk awaits its decisions with great interest, he firmly intends not to allow anyone to play the "Russian card." "We want the Russians in the Ukraine to live as well as Russians in Russia, not only materially, but also as regards language, culture, traditions... In our country there will never be grounds for saying that there is discrimination against anyone on ethnic grounds."

The president did not refrain from commenting bitterly on the position of Ukrainians in a number of states of the former Union: "In Russia, for instance, there are many Ukrainians, but not a single school. No newspaper is published (in Ukrainian). Now look at our country. Half of all the children study at Russian schools. Even in Moscow there is not a single (Ukrainian) school. They could start one, if only as an experiment. They could at least try. We would take it under our patronage and provide teachers and textbooks. There are regions in the Far East, too, where schools could be set up."

Stressing again that to promote slogans calling for the immediate return of Ukrainians to the Ukraine would be unrealistic and would cause confusion in the minds of the 11.5 million Russians living here, L. Kravchuk said that the Ukrainian Constitution makes provision for dual citizenship. Ukrainians could take advantage of this, on condition that the laws of the state in which they presently live permit it. But he did not specify the criteria according to which people can claim Ukrainian citizenship or in what circumstances applicants can expect to be refused.

Your Own Newspapers Come First

Although the Ukrainian president mentioned democratic France as the pattern chosen by statesmen in the independent Ukraine, he stressed that the foreign model will be subject to "Ukrainianization." What specifically will be changed to fit in with Ukrainian traditions and political ideals has still to be clarified. In any event, the program for the authorities' relations with the mass media is not entirely in accordance with French customs, or indeed other democratic customs.

First, Ukrainian state structures, in the spirit of party and Soviet traditions, cannot conceive of themselves without their own publications, their own "organs." As the president put it, "our government has taken on a major newspaper, namely SILSKI VISTI (RURAL NEWS)." The Supreme Soviet publishes its own newspaper—HOLOS UKRAYINY. As for a presidential newspaper, "that is not an issue at the moment; the government newspaper is enough," L. Kravchuk says.

But he is firm in the view that "we must have our own platforms, our own voices, with whose help we can keep people informed, publicize the policy pursued by the government and president, and involve people in that policy."

L.M. Kravchuk does not question this essentially communist principle of committed mass media. He sees no threat to press freedom in the fact that different newspapers will live by different financial laws. "If difficulties arise, there will be objective difficulties, in connection with the lack of paper, which unfortunately is not manufactured in the Ukraine. When we get some hard currency—and we will—we will build our own factories. Until then, we will buy in sufficient quantities for the free newspapers to be able to publish."

But then again: "We will, of course, subject them to merciless criticism if they fabricate stories. This will be obligatory, regardless of who heads the newspapers. As for our own newspapers, obviously we will give them material help. That is only natural."

Unless this attitude to the mass media is amended with the passage of time, a significant departure from the voluntarily chosen model will arise in this area. The French Government does not have its own newspaper, the parliament does not lay claim to its own mass media, and it is very rarely that the president ventures upon "merciless criticism" of the newspapers, although he himself is subjected to daily criticism, some of it "merciless."

Another point relating to specifically Ukrainian characteristics is probably the degree of respect for existing legislation. L.M. Kravchuk said that "life will be more important than the letter of the law." Here the president stipulated that this "creative approach" is characteristic of the transitional period, when there simply is no appropriate legislative base to meet the needs of an independent state. However, even in the subsequent period "it will be very important for the president to know his way around and to create mechanisms which will ensure the fulfillment of the laws."

In L.M. Kravchuk's opinion there is no political opposition in the Ukraine now, because Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement], the most influential movement, "has taken an approving view of the president" and will not change its stance "provided the president acts within the framework of democratic transformations, in the interests of independent Ukraine."

Observers agree that the forthcoming elections to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (which, incidentally, will almost certainly change its name) will result in substantial Rukh supremacy. Although L.M. Kravchuk, he says, constantly maintains business contacts with Rukh leaders, including his unsuccessful rivals for the post of president, he is very ready to waste no time ensuring that he is fully armed to greet the new correlation of political forces, which will not be long in appearing.

Meanwhile, the Ukraine under L.M. Kravchuk's leadership is hardly likely to initiative new integration processes within the framework of the former Union. The president was frank in saying that his main concern will be not even the population's well-being, but the country's real, long-term independence. He did not explain whether he is referring only to the army or to the country's own currency. But from the beginning of the year, the ruble will be practically useless in the Ukraine without coupons, while border posts will ferret out any excessively eager buyers from Russia.

L.M. Kravchuk gave his interview to IZVESTIYA's correspondent in Ukrainian.

On Nuclear Weapons Control

LD0301053792 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0430 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] Inhabitants of the Ukraine, just like the people of Russia, saw new prices in shops yesterday. The process of the creation of its own armed forces also begins in that sovereign republic today.

Leonid Kravchuk told a UKRINFORM correspondent that it is intended to withdraw tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of the Ukraine before 1 July 1992 and strategic weapons before 1994. Before this deadline, the Ukraine will carry out tough control [kontrol] of the nonuse and nonexploitation of nuclear weapons. The Ukrainian president will have special technical control [kontrol] to ensure that no one uses nuclear weapons from Ukrainian soil.

On Russia as 'Only Legal Successor'

LD0201164592 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 26 Dec 91

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk gave an interview to a BBC correspondent. He stated in the interview that he cannot agree with the decision of the European Community to recognize Russia as the only legal successor to the former Soviet Union. Leonid Kravchuk stated that the Ukraine does not agree to Russia representing the Commonwealth of Independent States on the international arena, because in the place of the former Soviet Union, 11 independent states appeared. Leonid Kravchuk added that Russia can speak only on its own behalf and not on behalf of all the independent states of the former Soviet Union.

Presidential Spokesman Announces Kravchuk Ill

LD0201204992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has canceled a news conference on economic reforms in the republic that was to be held today. A presidential spokesman revealed that Kravchuk has fallen ill. It had been expected that he would explain at this news conference why the republican government changed its decision on introducing free prices at the very last moment. It had been previously decided that they were to be introduced on 10 January. In fact, the government decided to free prices together with Russia.

Kiev Said 'Content' With Smaller Fleet Ships

PM0201162592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI No. 52 in Russian 29 Dec 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Ukraine: We Will Sell Off the Rest"]

[Text] The Ukraine is not laying claim to all the Black Sea Fleet ships.

According to Andrey Lazebnikov, chief of the Black Sea Fleet press service, it would be content with the patrol boats, small ASW [antisubmarine warfare] ships, and other small craft, in order to maintain border security and combat terrorism. According to certain information, USSR Navy Commander in Chief Vladimir Chernavin has announced that he is prepared to transfer them to the republic. This proposal suits both Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov. However, individual leaders of national political organizations are continuing to insist that the entire fleet is transferred to Ukrainian authority. In their opinion, the big ships could be profitably sold for currency, bringing in billions of dollars.

Black Sea, Danube Fleets To Form New Fleet

LD2712150591 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] The managers of the Black Sea and Danube Fleets have made a decision at their meeting in Odessa to create Ukraine's sea-going fleet. They underline that the independent Ukraine needs badly its own civil marine, primarily for trading with foreign states or earning hard currency for the national treasury.

Situation Following Price Increases Noted

LD0301120192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] The Ukrainian Government has introduced a maximum ratio for raising prices in the republic applicable in particular to the oil, gas, and coal being extracted in the Ukraine. Prices for transportation of freight by rail, ship, and motor vehicle will increase no more then five times. Maximum ratios for raising prices for individual kinds of bread, milk, vegetable oil, various groats, and babyfood will be permitted to raise prices no more than threefold. Vodka and medicines will go up in price four times. But rent will remain unchanged. Perhaps, at least this will reassure the inhabitants of republics who are still awaiting the liberalization of prices. There will also be other, many other, changes. Svetlana Ryboshapko reports:

[Ryboshapko] From 3 January the Ukraine will set about forming its army. The generals which will be engaged in this have already been appointed. Lieutenant General Ivan Bezhan has become the Ukrainian deputy defense minister. Kravchuk has brought from Minsk technical guarantees that not a single nuclear missile will be launched from Ukrainian territory.

However, to date the most mentioned surname in the Ukraine is by no means Kravchuk. The population thoroughly abuses Prime Minister Fokin and his cabinet of ministers. Attempts to find out the attitude of Kiev residents to the liberalization of prices gives rise to a barrage of absolutely unprintable expressions, among which figures and rare decent words can be glimpsed fleetingly: meat—110 rubles [R]; sour cream—R15. For one's entire wages one can buy five kg of sausages or 2.5 kg of butter and on top of it all, neither sausages nor butter can be found in those shops that have not yet closed down for inventory. Prices are literally going up before one's eyes. Before dinner a loaf of bread cost R1.80, by the evening already R2.40. One or two hours in the line and the loaf is yours. At railroad stations and in the airports lots of people are sitting around who left home before prices were raised and who were caught by a trebling of the price of tickets while en route. Many simply have not enough money for the return fare. These travelers cannot even dream of having a bite and something to drink.

Stubborn rumors are doing the rounds about the resignation of the Fokin government. Today's state of the Ukraine's finances and economy is entirely on the conscience of the prime minister. Therefore his resignation is more than probable. Svetlana Ryboshapka, for Radio Rossii news service, Kiev.

Decree Retains State Regulation of Prices

PM0201102092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Sergey Tsikora report from Kiev under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Hunting Down the Speculators"]

[Text] The Ukraine is tightening up its measures to combat speculation and the uncontrolled export of products from its territory.

A new decree by the Ukrainian president gives the state the right for a year to regulate prices for essential goods. This is not, of course, a market measure, but the situation compels it. The list of goods for which stable prices are to be set will be published by 1 January 1992.

By presidential decree, special militia units to combat speculation and "illegal" trading activity on the streets, at markets, and in other public places are being formed in the republic. Local soviets are permitted "to use 30 percent of the funds obtained through sales of property confiscated from speculators and other offenders, as well as fines received, to provide incentives for workers combating infringements of these types." The resolution does not explain how the actual confiscation of goods will take place: either by court decision, which will certainly take a lot of time and overburden the courts, or on the spot by militia and customs workers.

Crimean Tatar Chairman Opposes Referendum

AU0201145492 Kiev HOLOS in Ukrainian No. 26, 25 Dec 91 p 2

[Interview with Mustafa Dzhemilev, chairman of the Crimean Tatars' Medjlis, by Mykola Zhukov; place and date not given: "Tatars Are Against Crimean Referendum"]

[Text] Mustafa Dzhemilev, chairman of the Crimean Tatars' Medjlis, visited Moscow at the invitation of Galina Starovoytova, adviser to the Russian president. Your correspondent met with him at Simferopol Airport on his return and asked him to answer a few questions.

[Zhukov] Mr. Chairman, what was the purpose of your visit to Moscow?

[Dzhemilev] The parliament of Russia is about to recognize the Medjlis as an equal representative of Crimean Tatars, and its experts, as well as the president's adviser, asked me to come to Moscow for consultations.

[Zhukov] Were those only consultations, or did you sign any documents?

[Dzhamilev] I did not sign any documents, and the talks were only held at a consultative level, because many representatives of my people live in Russia and they need help in their return to the motherland.

[Zhukov] While you were in Moscow, the danger of yet another referendum emerged in the Crimea. What is your position on this issue?

[Dzhemilev] We have a hope that the so-called Supreme Council of the so-called Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic will have enough common sense not to hold this referendum. Otherwise, the situation may be fraught with conflicts. However, if the Supreme Council does approve the decision on the annexation of the

Crimea by Russia or on its secession from the Ukraine, this will conflict with the interests of the indigenous people of the Crimea and will lead to confrontation.

[Zhukov] In accordance with the law of the Ukraine, territorial issues cannot be raised at a referendum. However, in the Crimea, a law on the referendum was passed and the idea of self-determination of the Crimean people is constantly played with.

[Dzhemilev] Medjlis believes that questions concerning our motherland cannot be decided by people who were brought to the Crimea from Russia. It is an odd situation when former residents of Russia have to decide the fate of the indigenous Crimean people and the fate of their statehood. National questions cannot be the subject of a referendum conducted by aliens.

Economic Minister Views Republic's Potential

AU3012141891 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 35-36 Nov 91 p 4

[Commentary by A.K. Minchenko, Ukrainian state minister of the economy: "If Only Nobody Is In Our Way...."]

[Text] The Ukraine has an exceptionally advantageous geographical situation and powerful economic potential. This is not only our conclusion. Today, this is recognized by everybody who arrives in our republic on business from other places.

An analysis made by specialists from the Ministry of the Economy indicates: Even today, the Ukraine is capable of providing itself with its own resources and of resolving 80 percent of its own economic problems. Here are just a few figures. We produce 40 million tonnes of rolled metal and use only 24 million tonnes of it within the republic. We extract 160 million tonnes of coal. I am not even speaking of agricultural products—sugar, grain, cooking oil, milk, or meat that are, perhaps, the most important commodities for our partners on the interrepublican market.

What are we interested in? What are our specific needs? I would single out four items: oil, gas, timber, and cotton. As you know, Russia and Uzbekistan are the principal suppliers. Several weeks ago, intergovernmental agreements on economic ties and mutual settlements during the next year were signed with these republics. Agreements with other republics of the former Union have also been signed or are being prepared for signing. It is precisely in such ties—horizontal and not via the all-absorbing monopoly center—that we see a way out of that economic quandary into which the absurdly centralized and bureaucratic command system has led us.

It is known that the profound recession that spread to the national economies of all republics, including the Ukraine, at the end of the last year and that is still in progress was due to causes that had accumulated for decades. Among them is the growing imbalance of resources in the branches of the economy; the progressive aging of the fixed production assets (and henceforth their structural and technological deformation); the unviable system of incentives for labor; and the financial difficulties that have recently become particularly acute because of the poorly considered price reform, strikes, and so on.

What are we going to do in order to stop the recession in the economy and to turn it to the road of revival? Six months ago, the parliament of the republic approved the Program for Extraordinary Measures for Stabilizing the Economy of the Ukraine. It includes a package of measures to be implemented under the conditions of the transition to the market and is generally meant for one and one-half years. In October, the Supreme Council approved the Main Trends of the Economic Policy of the Ukraine Under the Conditions of Independence that have been proposed by the government. The other day, the Cabinet of Ministers submitted for the discussion by the parliament a Forecast for the Social and Economic Development of the Ukraine in 1992.

One of the directions of our activity that, I am deeply convinced, will produce positive results and will contribute to the establishment of an independent economic course of the Ukraine is the adoption, for the year 1992, of a single state order for enterprises, associations, and organizations, irrespective (I emphasize this) of their departmental subordination or form of ownership. Of course, in the planning of the Ukraine's state order, not only republican but also interrepublican and export deliveries will be taken into account. I reiterate, however, there will be only this one order, and its fulfillment will be obligatory for every labor collective. Certainly, the people in charge of the fulfillment of this order will enjoy benefits and will be subject to sanctions, and the order will be provided by material resources in an appropriate way.

The introduction of our own monetary unit must also be listed among such factors. This problem will be resolved by way of creating our own production that will be commissioned to issue banknotes and securities. There are plans to issue them with the help of imported equipment. Negotiations on the supply and installation of this equipment are now in full swing.

Thus, the independence of the Ukrainian economy is not a matter for the distant future, but a reality of our days. I realize that the slump in the production will continue, but, if nothing is in our way, I am sure that in half a year we will normalize our economy and will begin to increase production and improve our people's standard of living, provided that we work well, the labor discipline is good, and there is political stability.

Assembly Condemns CIS Agreement Ratification

*LD2812055591 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
0100 GMT 27 Dec 91*

[Text] The Ukrainian National Assembly has ceased to boycott the bodies of state power in Ukraine. This has been declared at a press conference by its chairman Yuriy Shukhevych. However, the Ukrainian National Assembly condemns the signing and ratification of the agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] and criticizes the trends followed by the present-day government and parliament of Ukraine.

Armenia

Gas Supplies From Azerbaijan Resume

LD0201233292 Moscow TASS in English 2308 GMT 2 Jan 92

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan January 3 TASS—The supply of gas through a pipeline to Armenia, which was cut off by the Azerbaijani side on November 4, 1991, has resumed.

After the gas pipeline was shut down, fuel was pumped to the capital of the republic from gas storage facilities exclusively for domestic uses and also in limited amounts through a gas pipeline running from Georgia. In the last day of 1991, the supply of gas to Yerevan was stopped altogether due to the pressure fall in pipelines.

Over one million cubic meters of gas have been supplied to the republic on Wednesday [1 January] after the almost two-month break, Armenian Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan told a meeting of the Republican Parliament Presidium on Thursday [2 January].

Certainly, the amount of gas supplied on January 2 is small. Up to one and a half million cubic meters of gas were daily supplied for Yerevan's domestic uses from gas storage facilities. The blockade caused an acute energy crisis in Armenia as a result of which apartment houses are not heated, the republic's entire industry idles, institutions and kindergartens are closed and schools have no classes.

A chain of electric power stations on the Razdan River, which were shut down in recent years to maintian the water level in Lake Sevan, resumed operation. The energy generated by these plants was supplied to hospitals, bakeries, food and communications industry enterprises.

President, Officers Discuss Army's Future

NC2812160291 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan met the leadership and division and military unit commanders of the 7th Army stationed in Armenia at the military staff headquarters on 26 December.

In greeting the army commanders corps and thanking them for their initiative in organizing the meeting, Levon Ter-Petrosyan emphasized the importance of the free exchange of opinions, particularly on the eve of the consultative meeting to be held between the leaders of the republics in Minsk on 30 December during which issues relating to the fate of the former USSR Armed Forces will be examined.

The president of the republic said that even before the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, efforts were under way for a radical reform in the Armed Forces, and a relevant draft was worked out in consultation with the leadership of the republics. However, the political transformation sharply altered the situation, making it necessary to formulate anew the underlying principles.

During the preliminary high-level talks, two views have taken shape so far: The first, propounded by the Ukraine and Azerbaijan, envisages the creation of full-fledged republican armies with all their subdivisions. The other member states of the Commonwealth, however, consider it expedient to maintain parallel structures during the transitional period.

It was noted that it is the aim of the Armenian authorities to create a separate army in the future; however, taking into account the actual state of affairs, Armenia should for the time being be content with the formation of a national guard. The matters pertaining to the unified forces of the Commonwealth, their presence in the republics, and the status of military bases should be clarified by special agreements.

After referring to the general fundamental issues, Levon Ter-Petrosyan touched upon the social problems of soldiers serving in Armenia, mentioning with satisfaction that they are showing understanding towards the difficult problems facing the republic.

He also presented the previously announced schedule for conscription, stressing that the authorities are resolved to fully implement that important measure.

At the end of the meeting, the president replied to many questions and heard observations on specific principles concerning the reform program for the Army.

The questions raised the issue of the return of arms and ammunition illegally obtained from military units and the issue of improving servicemen's living conditions, particularly with regard to interruptions in the delivery of gas and power because of the energy crisis.

Usik Arutyunyan, head of the State Directorate for the National Security of Armenia, and Military Commissar Levon Stepanyan were also present at the meeting.

Presidium To View Price Liberalization 3 Jan

NC0201194792 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 2 Jan 91

[Text] To the people's deputies of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet: The president of the Armenian Republic has called for the convocation of an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet at (?1600) on 3 January. The Supreme Soviet Presidium calls on all deputies to be present at the session to discuss the issue of the transition to price and [word indistinct] liberalization.

Nuclear Power Plant To Resume Operation

LD3012234891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2255 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 31 Dec (TASS)—The Armenian nuclear power plant, mothballed after the 1988 earthquake, will be opened again in the new year.

As Armenian State Minister R. Chiftalaryan has stated, given the energy crisis and economic collapse in which the republic has found itself, the government regards switching on the plant as essential. He added that the previous decision to close the plant should be deemed mistaken and ill-considered, one taken under the influence of emotions.

The first generator set of the plant will be de-mothballed by next winter and will produce 400 megawatts of electricity. After the second set is started up in 1993, Armenia will not only fully meet its own needs but also gain an opportunity to export electricity.

The Armenian nuclear power plant was virtually unaffected by the earthquake, and experts consider its reactors to be sufficiently safe, a PRAVDA correspondent notes.

Azerbaijan

NKAO Fighting Becoming 'Local War'

LD0201165292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Jan 92

["Vesti" video report by correspondent Leonid Ponomarev]

[Text] In Nagorno-Karabakh the armed dispute is gaining the scale of a local war, Lur news center [as heard] reports today. The artillery and missile barrage of Stepanakert from the Azerbaijani population centers of Shusha, Malybeyli, and Khodzhaly, which started on 31 December, is continuing. Armenian self-defense detachments have captured the suburban district of Stepanakert, Kerkidzhan, and the neighboring heights from which residential areas of Stepanakert were formerly shelled by artillery. During the fighting, fire was directed with a view to eliminating the firing positions of the Azerbaijani armed formations, whose losses amount to dozens of killed and wounded.

Yesterday evening Azerbaijanis captured the outskirts of Khramort and killed five old people who were residents of the village. The Armenian self-defense forces expelled the attackers from the villages and mounted a counteroffensive. Meanwhile, the Azerbaijani formations withdrew with heavy losses, abandoning two armored carriers during their retreat.

Shaumyan Rayon: Up to midday along the whole border of the Nagorno-Karabakh region's second rayon with Azerbaijan, Armenian self-defense forces battled with the attacking forces of the National Army of Azerbaijan.

Georgia

Military Council Assumes All Government Power

Statement Circulated

OW0201203592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1918 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [2 January], the Military Council of Georgia circulated a statement which says that on January 2, the authority usurped by President Gamsakhurdia, has been done away with." The statement also says that all power has been passed to the Military Council of Georgia, to which all government bodies shall be subordinated.

Nothing has been reported about the fate of President Gamsakhurdia.

Georgian Prime Minister, Mr. Vissarion Gugushvili, has been removed from his post and his duties will be temporarily performed by Mr. Tengiz Sigua, Georgia's ex-prime minister and an opposition leader.

Meanwhile, by decree of the Georgian parliament, on January 3, a state of emergency and a curfew lasting from 23:00 till 6:00 will be introduced in Tbilisi. Mr. Georgiy Karkarashvili has been appointed commandant of Tbilisi.

The Military Council's statement urges the political parties to convene a "consultative assembly" that would prepare new parliamentary elections and draft a programme for Georgia's political development.

Sigua Appointed Prime Minister

LD0201185292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1826 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jan (TASS)—There was an announcement today on Georgian Television, which is in the opposition's hands, that the president and the parliament of Georgia have been removed from power and a military council has been set up, headed by Tengiz Kitovani and Dzhaba Ioseliani. News of this was received by TASS via the channels of the Russian Amateur Radio Service.

According to the report, Tengiz Sigua has been appointed prime minister. Opposition deputies have been instructed to begin preparations for fresh elections. The opposition in Tbilisi has imposed a curfew from 2300 to 0600. This ordinance comes into force at midnight local time on 3 January. According to the opposition's statement, all state structures must carry out the decisions of the military council. According to the armed opposition's statement, all power in the republic will be handed over to a new government after it is formed.

According to eyewitnesses, a concentration of military vehicles and equipment was noticed near the Iveria Hotel toward the evening of 2 January, and it is possible that the opposition is preparing its forces for its next assault on Government House.

Gamsakhurdia Condemns Council

LD0301094992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 3 Jan 91

[Text] Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has called the Military Council created yesterday by the opposition an anticonstitutional junta and has urged the population of the republic to practise civil disobedience and launch a general strike. He broadcast his appeal by radio.

At the same time, Akakiy Asatiani, chairman of the parliament and a supporter of Gamsakhurdia, declared in a television interview that the situation in Georgia is catastrophic. It is necessary to start talks immediately or at least to stop the shooting, Asatiani stressed.

Presidium Condemns Council

LD0301145692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1417 GMT 3 Jan 92

[By correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jan (TASS)—A report TASS received via Russian amateur radio emergency services states that the president of Georgia has issued a decree appointing Konstantin Pirtskhalava as his plenipotentiary representative in law enforcement organs.

The report notes that the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution with regards to the declaration on the creation of a Military Council. "Once the members of the putsch have seized the television," it states, "this criminal group declared itself to be the supreme power of the republic and 'appointed' Tengiz Sigua as prime minister of its 'government,' declared martial law in Tbilisi, appointed Karkalashvili the commandant of the city, and established a curfew. The actions of the junta are aimed at frightening and demoralizing the population of the republic. No country will establish contacts with the usurpers. With regards to this, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia decrees:

1. To condemn the creation of the Military Council, measures taken by it, and its other actions.

2. The administrative bodies of the republic, heads of organizations, and enterprises must declare total insubordination to any orders and resolutions by the Military Council and actively oppose them.

3. All citizens of the republic must obey the constitution, the laws of the republic, its legally elected president, and government."

President Ordered To Leave

LD0301132792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 3 Jan 92

[By correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jan (TASS)—According to a report received by the command group of the internal troops, the opposition headquarters has issued an ultimatum to Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the defenders of the Government House: Leave the building by 1800 today. If the demand is not met, the Government House will be stormed.

Although a state of emergency and a curfew are in force, firing is going on in the city around the clock. The city is controlled by Tengiz Kitovani's guardsmen and the Mkhedrioni armed formations. They have closed off all entrances to Tbilisi, they are checking vehicles, and they have blocked the railway station. The airport remains closed. There are reports that it has been mined.

The internal troop subunits are observing neutrality but are themselves sometimes coming under attack. For instance, the car of a regimental chief of staff was fired upon today. Fortunately, there were no casualties.

Situation in Tskhinval 'Almost Catastrophic'

LD0301104492 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 3 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz January 3 TASS—Last night was comparatively calm in South Ossetia. However, Georgian and Ossetian militants continued to exchange sporadic fire on distant approaches to Tskhinval and in Znauri district, the hottest points in the war-ravaged area. No casualties have been reported.

The temporary lull, according to Oleg Teziyev, commander of the South Ossetian forces, is explained by the fact that many of the militants, backing Georgian President Gamsakhurdia, have been rushed to Tbilisi. The situation in the region is obviously influenced by the dramatic events in the Georgian capital, where the Military Council has removed the president and the Georgian parliament from power and is seeking ways to end the armed conflict.

The state of emergency, declared by the South Ossetian Supreme Soviet on the entire territory of the region; general mobilisation of all citizens aged from 18 to 60; and the creation of necessary defence structures on the territory of the republic have also contributed to stabilisation. However, heavily armed Georgian militants still remain in nearby Georgian villages. This compels Ossetian guardsmen and self-defence detachments to be in constant combat readiness.

The situation around Tskhinval is almost catastrophic. The town is in a tight economic, transport, power and information blockade. Moreover, the weather is growing colder in the Caucasian mountains. There are heavy snowfalls with frequent avalanches.

Kazakhstan

'Arafat Visits Nazarbayev To Enlist Support

PM0201135992 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Dec 91 p 3

[Untitled report by correspondent Ye. Dotsuk]

[Text] Alma-Ata—An unexpected guest recently visited President N. Nazarbayev. Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, landed at Alma-Ata Airport en route from Vietnam and asked the Kazakh president to receive him. 'Arafat was persistent and very earnest in his intention of enlisting N. Nazarbayev's support to resolve the Palestinian question. He was leading up to the fact that it is necessary to unite, for otherwise, in the event of something happening, "Israeli bombs will reach Kazakhstan too."

It seemed to me that N. Nazarbayev was joking more than usual. In response to 'Arafat's latest maxim he informed him of the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States in the place of the former Union. The chairman of the executive committee endeavored to bring the Kazakh president back to the subject of discussion, but Nazarbayev's diplomatic talent enabled him to leave some of the guest's questions without specific replies. True, N. Nazarbayev did agree with Yasir 'Arafat's proposal to think about restoring the ancient Silk Road.

Showering Nazarbayev with praise and ranking him with the saints in the east, 'Arafat presented the president of Kazakhstan with a very beautiful saber.

Executive Powers, Bodies To Be Reformed

OW2712133891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev is to sign in the next few days several decrees to reorganize executive power in the republic. As IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent was told at the President's press service, the decrees are designed to divide functions in the government and management bodies, heighten officials' responsibility for ensuring discipline and help to stabilize the economy during transition to free market.

It is presumed that the executive committees of regional, district and city councils will be dismantled, and officials appointed by the President will become the heads of administrative bodies. Under the decrees to hold the post the head of local administration and work at a council of any level will be impossible.

The heads of local administrations will lead the executive bodies, monitor the work of territorial offices of ministries, state committees and departments, as well as issue resolutions and instructions to be obeyed in the given territory.

Disbandment Decision Reversed, Party Restored

PM0301110792 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Dec 91 p 2

[P. Vetoshanskiy report: "Communist Party Restored"]

[Text] Kazakhstan's communists—veterans and young people—have restored the republic's Communist Party at the 19th congress in Alma-Ata, deeming the decisions of the 18th congress on the disbandment and renaming of the Communist Party contrary to the rules and the convening of such a congress to be a flagrant violation of the rules and disregard for communists' opinion. The congress and the Communist Party have adhered to Marxist-Leninist positions. Over 100,000 communists have already declared their membership of the restored Communist Party.

'Coalition for Social Protection' Formed

LD3112095591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 28 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Now, about those economic difficulties which the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States and their neighbors are facing. Recently, 13 Kazakhstan public organizations formed a coalition for social protection in Alma-Ata. The signatories to the agreement intend to help needy people as well as pursuing policy on these matters in the parliament and government of the republic. Coalition members find hope in the consolidation of the numerous and diverse democratic forces around one objective—restraining people from going out on the streets and raiding the shops during the forthcoming profound reforms.

However, it was said at the conference that the coalition should become the so-called constructive opposition to the Kazakhstan parliament, which is called red here. Perhaps this is why the Communist Party and the All-Union Communist Party have refused to join the coalition.

[Begin L.Balayan, All-Union Communist Party Central Committee member, recording] Who is setting up this coalition? Is this coalition social protection for the population? We don't think so. We think this coalition, formed on the initiative of the union of entrepreneurs, lessees and cooperative proprietors, is a coalition to remove social protection from the population. [end recording]

Conference Establishes People's Congress Party

LD3112052991 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1050 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] A joint conference of public societies and movements took place in Pavlodar, in which an oblast society of the People's Congress Party of Kazakhstan was set up. The declaration of the rules, aims, and principles of the new party was discussed. The leading bodies and political executive committee of the oblast society were elected.

300 Nationals Denied Crossing Into PRC

LD0101063692 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1000 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] Recently, the Moscow news broadcast reported 300 Kazakh nationals had made an attempt to cross the Kazakhstan-Chinese border line. According to them, only border guards and militiamen managed to hold them inside the motherland and averted an international incident.

Although it might be sad news for the broadcasting service, competent bodies of the Republic of Kazakhstan firmly refuted this piece of false information. Whether Moscovites wanted this or not, facts remain facts and misinformation (?divides) the peoples of the Commonwealth of Independent States and is an outright provocation.

Kyrgyzstan

'Islamic Call' Assists Republic's Muslims

OW0201184692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1524 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The world organization "Islamic Call" intends to give broad assistance to Muslims in Kyrgyzstan, said its secretary-general Muhammad Ahmad Sharif [name as received] during his visit to Bishkek. He handed 15,000 dollars to local Muslims as humanitarian aid.

M. A. Sharif went to Bishkek on a fact-finding mission during which he visited local mosques and theological schools. His plans included a meeting with Kyrgyzstan's President Askar Akayev, but they did not materialize.

Tajikistan

Nabiyev Congratulates Karimov on Election Win

LD0101071692 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Text] President Rahman Nabiyev of Tajikistan has sent a telegram of congratulations addressed to Islam Karimov on his victory in the presidential election of Uzbekistan. It says in part:

Esteemed Islam Abdulghaniyevich, I am very glad at your full victory in the presidential election of Uzbekistan. It is a pleasure to sincerely congratulate you on the occasion of your election to the high office of the popular president of the sovereign Republic of Uzbekistan in a nationwide election. Availing myself of this happy occasion, I congratulate you on the occasion of the forthcoming New Year 1992. I believe that the traditional friendly and close relations between the fraternal peoples of our sovereign states will be further consolidated in the future.

On the eve of the New Year, I sincerely hope and express readiness to build our future jointly based on advantageous cooperation, peace, and prosperity. I wish you health, high spirits and new success in all your actions.

With regards,

[signed] Rahman Nabiyev, president of the Republic of Tajikistan

President Signs Decree Lifting Salary Limits

LD3112094491 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT 31 Dec 91

[Text] Dushanbe December 31 TADZHIKTA-TASS—President Rahmon Nabiyev of Tajikistan has signed a decree lifting limits on wages and salaries and on an increment in funds used for consumption on the republic's territory in the new year. The decree emphasises that the measures have been taken with a view to creating conditions for more active work by all categories of workers.

Enterprises and organisations shall determine themselves the amount of funds intended for consumption in accordance with the law "On Enterprises in the USSR" pending the adoption of an appropriate legislation by the sovereign Republic of Tajikistan.

The Tajik president instructed the republican Ministry of Finance and respective state committees to submit proposals to the Tajikistan Government within ten days on a procedure to fund expenses for these purposes.

Dushanbe City Not Receiving Agreed Supplies

LD3012220391 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1100 GMT 28 Dec 91

[Excerpts] The supply of flour and cotton-seed oil in Dushanbe city has improved. In the past, instead of 114 tonnes of cotton-seed oil daily being delivered from the other oblasts to Dushanbe city, 70 tonnes were being delivered. Presently, however, we are receiving up to 220 tonnes of cotton-seed oil.

The situation with the supply of meat is a little worrying. Instead of 91 tonnes being delivered on a daily basis, Dushanbe city receives 50 tonnes of meat, which is very little. The main reason for the nondelivery of meat is the failure to fulfill signed agreements by the Kulab and Kurgan-Tyube oblasts. [passage omitted]

Kurgan-Tyube oblast has fulfilled 13 percent of last year's plan for the supply of meat. Kulab oblast has fulfilled 47 percent of the annual supply of meat. As you know, these oblasts will be brought to justice. So far, for not fulfilling the yearly supply of meat the Kurgan-Tyube oblast meat plant must pay a penalty of 500,000 rubles [R] for the second quarter [of the year]. According to the documents, in the third quarter a penalty of R1 million has been prepared. The Kulab oblast meat plant will also be paying a penalty of up to R200,000 in the third quarter. [passage omitted]

The potato-growing areas of Garmskiy, Zhirgatolskiy, and Tajikabadskiy rayons have not fulfilled their quotas. They should have supplied the city of Dushanbe with 15,000 tonnes of potatoes. Of this total they have only supplied 6,145 tonnes. Garmskiy rayon has supplied 2,079 tonnes of this figure, Zhirgatolskiy rayon has supplied 2,846 tonnes, and Tajikabadskiy rayon has supplied 1,290 tonnes. [passage omitted]

Turkmenia

President Meets With Turkish Culture Minister

LD2712212991 Ashkhabad Radio Ashkabad Network in Russian 0245 GMT 26 Dec 91

[Text] On 25 December, Turkmenistan President Niyazov received a Turkish delegation headed by Fikri Saglar, Turkey's minister of culture. Saglar presented Niyazov with the official letter by Turkish President Ozal on recognizing Turkmenistan. Niyazov expressed gratitude to the leaders of Turkey and all Turkish people for their support and their great contribution to strengthening the independence of Turkmenistan.

During their talk Niyazov and Fikri Saglar comprehensively discussed the questions of mutual relations. It was stressed that immediate implementation of the agreements is urgent. Niyazov proposed to the Turkish minister of culture that he go see the building of the Turkish Consulate in Ashkhabd, that he go sightseeing in Turkmenistan and that he familiarize himself with the situation of historical monuments to be restored with the help of Turkey.

President Niyazov said that a number of Turkmen specialists recently left for Turkey and they were instructed to organize the broadcast of certain programs from Istanbul and Ankara Televisions.

Saglar during his stay in Turkmenistan will sign the agreement on cooperation between Ministries of Culture of the two countries. The newspaper points out that Niyazov said that he will talk about the possibility of opening a Turkish cultural center in Ashkhabad.

Foreign Minister on Central Asian Relations

LD2712202991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0108 GMT 25 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Dec (TASS)—Turkmenistan intends to actively pursue an independent foreign policy and considers the shifting of the center of public attention to the Central Asian region to be fully justified, Abdy Kuliyev, the Turkmenistan foreign minister, has stated. According to him, relations with the Asian Muslim states will be a priority for the republic.

In an interview published in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA today, Abdy Kuliyev described as "unnecessary" a proposal to create a coordinated foreign political body of the Commonwealth of Independent States and its single representation in the international arena. "I do not think that this fulfillment of Gorbachev's behest is necessary", he said. In the minister's opinion, it is sufficient that "Turkmenistan, in conducting its own foreign policy, will consult with other members of the Commonwealth", and have joint embassies "in the course of a certain period of time".

The minister described his republic's joining the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] as "an urgent necessity" for Turkmenistan. In his opinion, "this will be perceived as a juridical guarantee of the territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of the republic".

In connection with this Abdy Kuliyev noted that Pakistan had expressed its desire to assist the republic in its entry into the ICO, and representations of the two countries would be opened in the Turkmenistan capital of Ashkhabad and in Islamabad in the very near future.

The minister also stressed that his republic intends to maintain "equal relations with both Turkey and Iran", viewing the ethnic Turkmens who live there "as citizens of these states and not a part of the Turkmen people".

President, Iranian Foreign Minister Meet

LD2812184391 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 28 Dec 91

[Text] Mr. Va'ezi, Iranian deputy foreign minister in charge of European and American affairs, has opened the Islamic Republic of Iran's representative office in Ashkhabad, the capital of the Republic of Turkmenistan.

According to our Mashhad correspondent, Mr. Va'ezi also met and held talks with Saparmurad Niyazov, the president of Turkmenistan. At the meeting, the implementation of the agreements signed during the recent trip by Foreign Affairs Minister Velayati to Turkmenistan was stressed and satisfaction was expressed at the trend of expansion of the economic and cultural relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Turkmenistan.

Our Mashhad correspondent's report further indicates: During the negotiations between our deputy foreign minister for European and American affairs and the authorities of the Republic of Turkmenistan, discussions were held and agreements reached on the establishment of a Mashhad-Sarakhs-Tajand-Ashkhabad rail link, the staging of a trade fair in Turkmenistan, the purchase of cotton from the Islamic Republic of Iran, the opening of two border crossings in two months time, investment in agriculture and tourism, and the exchange of experts.

Ceilings Lifted on Salaries, Wages, Raises

OW0201180692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1524 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Niyazov of Turkmenistan has issued decrees to cushion the effects of the coming price reform in his republic. On Wednesday [1 January] a decree came into force under which minimal wages would be raised in Turkmenistan and ceilings lifted on salaries and wages as well as other earnings spent for consumption. The minimal monthly payment under the decree will equal 350 rubles. The workweek will take no more than 10 hours.

Wages and salaries are to rise in government-run offices and facilities thanks to additional allocations, and in free-enterprise structures at the expense of their own profits.

As of Jan 1 employees at government-run offices and enterprises will earn about 3 times more than they did before.

Republic Parliament To Free Prices 6 Jan

OW0201180892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1524 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press service under Turkmenistan's President Saparmurad Niyazov told INTERFAX [INTERFAX] that prices in Turkmenistan will be freed next Monday. Turkmenistan's Parliament has ruled retail prices for necessity goods will rise three to five-fold and prices for children's goods will go up twofold. In his New Year's address President Saparmurad Niyazov informed tne population of Turkmenistan that prices would be free for most manufactured goods imported from abroad. The government intended to control the price of basic consumer goods, such as meat, butter, milk, baby food, salt, bread, flour and a few others.

President Niyazov urged the population not to yield to alarmist tendencies. He said the republic possessed a sufficient amount of foodstuffs and other goods.

New Republican Bank To Be Established

OW0201184492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1524 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Niyazov has decreed that a republican bank be set up on the basis of the defunct Turkmen branch of the National Bank of the USSR to effect monetary and currency policies in his republic.

Under the President's decree, the new bank will be in charge of accounting, cash and other operations in the republic.

Uzbekistan

Economic, Trade Agreement Signed With PRC

LD0301105792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] An agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Uzbekistan and China has been signed in Tashkent. The document was signed for the Chinese side by Li Lanqing, PRC minister of foreign economic relations and trade. He heads a delegation that is touring a number of republics of the former USSR.

As is known, at the end of last year, China officially recognized the CIS member countries and Georgia. According to the XINHUA agency, the question of the establishment of Sino-Uzbek diplomatic relations was discussed during the Chinese delegation's stay in Tashkent.

The Chinese delegation will also visit Kazakhstan.

Accord Signed With Saudi Arabia on Workers

LD2912070591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 28 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Ministry of Labor of Uzbekistan and the Isma'il Harun Dahlawi Corporation of Saudi Arabia have signed an agreement on exporting Uzbek workers.

The parties have remarked that qualified workers will be dispatched in an organized way from Uzbekistan to Saudi Arabia to work in their specialist fields. Moreover, Uzbek workers and specialists will be placed on the same footing as citizens of the country to which they are going. This is an INTERFAX report.

Convicted 'Cotton Case' Prisoners Pardoned

LD2712214691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1104 GMT 26 Dec 91

[By unidentified TASS-UZTAG correspondent]

[Text] Tashkent, 26 Dec (TASS)—Islam Karimov, president of the Republic of Uzbekistan, on 25 December pardoned by decree a group of people previously sentenced in connection with the so-called "Cotton Case" and who are serving their sentences in various prisons. The "Cotton Case" trials aroused wide public reaction in the USSR at the end of the 1980s. At that time a number of high-ranking officials of Uzbekistan, in the law-enforcement bodies, and party and soviet leaders in a number of rayons and oblasts of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic were sentenced to various prison terms for bribery, falsifying documents, and abusing their official positions in connection with cotton production in the republic.

Inamzhon Usmankhodzhayev, former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

Uzbekistan, and Uznek Deputy Ministers of Internal Affairs Kakhramov and Begelman are among those sentenced in connection with this case.

Karimov Interviewed on Republic's Future

92US0156A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Dec 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Uzbek President Islam Karimov by special correspondent M. Sharov; place and date not given: "President Islam Karimov: 'My Credo: the Good of Man, the Interests of the Republic'"]

[Text] **The work day of the president of Uzbekistan, which, of course, is not accommodated within the allotted eight hours and which frequently lasts twice as long, is packed to the brim with important and urgent business. Comprehension of the political and economic situation, a quest for the priority areas in the market economy, constant tours of the republic, meetings with workers of the villages and cities, receptions of foreign delegations... In this work schedule, detailed down to minutes, time was found for a comprehensive and lengthy interview with our special correspondent.**

[Sharov] Islam Abduganiyevich, I represent the peasant newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN. My first question is for this reason surely justified and appropriate: What is the future of the countryside of Uzbekistan? There are many opinions and arguments in the country currently about who will occupy the predominant role in the agrarian sector—the kolkhozes and sovkhozes or private owners. Perhaps in the solution of the food problem, both are needed, and sharp lines should not be drawn between them.... Reality shows that only complete freedom of choice and the emancipation of the peasant can bring about real changes. Is this the case?

[Karimov] In answering your question, I would like to first emphasize what is most important. There is talk everywhere today about the fact that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have not justified themselves and that they need to be broken up overnight virtually. Account is not taken here of the actual economic, social and other factors and the mentality, wishes and aspirations of the peasantry itself. We do not have this phenomenon here in Uzbekistan. We have no wish to deny absolutely everything and are in no hurry to reject everything out of hand or to discredit and disparage each and everything that has happened in agriculture in past years. Ask any person from the countryside—there is no such mood there.

It is not the kolkhozes and sovkhozes which are to blame for the fact that the food shelves have been bare but the totalitarian state, which has brought the public farms to their present state. The main problem is that man has been torn away from the land. The interests of the rural worker have of late not simply been flouted but crushed. I refer to the 1980's, when the so-called "cotton affairs" and other inventions of the center hung over us. The society to be desired is that which reflects primarily such concepts as the interest of man, the interest of society and the interest of the state and where only the law is supreme and the principles of democratism are asserted. It is for this reason that I profess in my practical work the credo: the good of the people, democracy, the supremacy of the law, and the interests of the republic.

There is something else I have to mention also. Under the influence of certain apologies for theorists and economists, we from scratch accelerated state ownership to the detriment of everything else, paying heed here neither to the national nor to any other factor. In what did all this end? It ended in the very motivation to labor being utterly destroyed and the "private ownership" concept being perceived as something prohibited and alien under the conditions of socialism. Yet private ownership in itself evokes in man interest and engenders stimuli, which we sorely need today. In order to restore people's belief in themselves, in their own powers, we must offer a rational motivation to labor, and it is this which private ownership creates. Yesterday even we appeared to be none other than romantics and dreamers and attempted to catch the crane which soared in the sky and as a result become people divorced from realities, but life demands pragmatists.

We formerly competed outright in gathering under the cap of state ownership everything as rapidly as possible and in turning the kolkhozes and partnerships into sovkhozes, for we would then arrive more quickly at that same "shining" future. We hereby made the situation even worse and created even more difficulties, and things reached the point of people simply ceasing to believe any longer in this "shining" future.

This was very simply done. Some three or four kolkhozes, which for a variety of reasons were very weak and which could not "keep" themselves, were taken and converted into sovkhozes. There was total disregard here for differential rent I, so to speak, differential rent II, the farms' remoteness from the cities and so forth. The changes were made with a stroke of the pen. The fact that the newly emerged sovkhoz had no elementary machinery facilities or power supply per production unit troubled no one.

[Sharov] This was yesterday, but today, as we can see, agrarian reforms are being carried through in your republic without fuss, noisy assurances, and promises of a solution of the food question overnight. I have visited a number of farms of Kashka Darya and Tashkent oblasts and have seen this for myself. Despite the present difficult situation in society and the severed economic ties, the majority of your kolkhozes and sovkhozes are operating profitably and with good process stock for the future. It was evidently necessary prior to this to cross the Rubicon of conservatism and veer sharply in the direction of new economic relationships in the countryside. There had, of course, to have been struggle and contradictions?

I remember from childhood that there was a kolkhoz next to our village. I suddenly learned that it had been converted into a sovkhoz. People went to bed kolkhoz members and woke up workers—complete with their new concepts, philosophy and mentality, supposedly. A joke, nothing more....

[Karimov] Yes, I once worked in the Finance Ministry, was minister, and felt in my bones, as they say, the entire absurdity of what was happening because the republic budget and the state budget were, all the same, directly connected with the kolkhozes, and very objectively. But whereas all losses were written off for the sovkhozes automatically, the kolkhozes were not forgiven their arrears. They would build up for five to 10 years, and then Comrade Brezhnev and others would, prior to party congresses, deign to simply write them off there and then. And we would thank the party and the government for the fact that they had counted no cost in their concern for the peasantry. It became ridiculous. They themselves would reduce us to this and would then write off the debts at a stroke and force us to give thanks for the fact that the tsar-father was displaying concern for his subjects. That was how it was.

[Sharov] You know, Islam Abduganiyevich, it was, after all, prior even to the well-known CPSU Central Committee March (1965) Plenum on agriculture that Academician Nemchinov was warning: Do not destroy the countryside, give it if only a little air and the freedom to dispose of its labor. And he cited figures: Not only the entire surplus product but also the lion's share of the essential product were being taken away from the countryside. He was not heeded...

[Karimov] There were many flawed methods here—in the credit system, in the financial system, in the price system. This, I would say, is the main question. And, what is most important, agriculture was for a long time scandalously ripped off, as they say. And, in addition, it was directed by dilettantes, as a rule. Take that same Ligachev, who formerly wanted to do us great favors, although he understood little of agriculture as a whole or of financial issues in particular. He was very fond of conducting every conceivable seminar. He did not care to come to Uzbekistan and would call everyone together in various regions and drive them around the fields.

It was interesting to watch all this. Precipitation in those zones is twice what it is in Uzbekistan. But he would attempt to show to us, people who live in an arid zone, where every five years there is a most veritable drought, why the corn yield there was 80 quintals, but in Uzbekistan, 37. We tried to explain that with us conditions were different, but for Ligachev these were merely empty words.

I digress. But I would like to conclude the thought about how we artificially turned the kolkhoz member into a worker. It is not, after all, only a question of the moral, psychological, and spiritual aspect; we are talking about us having consciously heaped around the neck of the state all the needs of those same unprofitable kolkhozes, which should simply have been investigated. In terms of all items and instances, why this or the other was operating unprofitably. Not having done so, however, we drove this illness even deeper inasmuch as the sovkhoz switched wholly to state financing and support. And we made from a worker who would think about the number of work-days he would receive at the end of the year—the children had to be fed, after all—a dependent. And produced an incalculable number of office bureaucrats.

But what was most appalling was the fact that we annually wrote off in vast amounts all losses and thereby created a firm foundation for the molding of the mentality of the dependent. We formed a whole stratum of simply classical dependents, who had absolutely no incentive to work from the heart. What kind of leasing could there have been? Who, I ask, needed this system? It is now said that the peasant does not want to take the land. But who, if you'll excuse me, but we ourselves raised him in this way? It will take time for him to understand that he should live differently.

[Sharov] This is, I believe, a most ungracious business—reproaching the farm worker, the villager-peasant, for failing to feed the country. But some politicians and zealous journalists are simply thriving on this currently. And what have we in the countryside received in exchange? A feeling of guilt before society and a perception of general depression and doom even.

[Karimov] I agree with this opinion. The most appalling thing is the hopelessness and the lack of faith in justice and in the fact that your labor, active, fruitful labor, will be appreciated at its merits.

The Uzbek farm workers have endured all difficulties. And are continuing to do so. But they will not put up with injustice. But a system was created here which has ensured that, however hard you try and however much you say, everything goes as if into a bottomless pit.

When I came to work in Kashka Darya as first secretary of the oblast party committee, I had prior to this, incidentally, always worked in economic positions and it was without any great enthusiasm that I went there, I set for myself the following goal—breaking within the oblast framework the vicious circle that had taken shape and creating for man normal conditions and incentives to labor. The first question which I raised was: Why are the farm workers not being paid their wages on time? In accordance with what principles are they paid out generally? It all began from this. I began to seek the timely payment of wages. But a vicious circle had resulted. If the kolkhozes had earned nothing, there were no wages either. But this circle needed to be broken. I assumed the responsibility and said: You will pay them. I promise you that in a year we will have gotten back everything. In two years at the most. And the payments were made. Although, I understand, some people were not averse to censuring me for command practices. But I believed and continue to believe that just economic methods by themselves, without certain administrative methods, cannot work. Preference should, understandably, be given economic methods, but it sometimes does no harm to organize matters, also. So I said firmly: pay. The kolkhoz members began to receive money regularly and were astonished: How has this happened, wages being paid monthly? With this came faith and they began to work. There emerged economically strong farms, knocking down which now, just like that, is impossible.

When, therefore, you ask about how we regard collective management, I say that there is with us a normal process of critical interpretation of the activity of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. I am a supporter of converting unprofitable sovkhozes to kolkhozes. I nurtured this idea over many years while working in planning and financial bodies. Although I realize full well that this process will be very complex and, possibly, painful also. But this needs to be done for the countryside to be put on a strong economic track.

This is not a revolutionary path, as you newspapermen like to put it, but a rectification initially of the mistakes which have been made of late in agriculture in questions of the organization of labor.

[Sharov] Incidentally, Islam Abduganiyevich, I would like to tell you that this is my first visit to Uzbekistan and I came here under the impression of publications in certain central papers concerning the fact that the republic is being governed by conservatives and that there have been no changes here.

[Karimov] Let these convictions be on the conscience of your colleagues. On what is our position based? If we convert loss-making sovkhozes into kolkhozes, the latter will work in accordance with the principle of the cooperatives. That is, at the first stage we will convert state-owned property to cooperative property and will try to re-create all that is connected with this. I assure you that people will take this positively. A reduction in the numbers of the managerial personnel would begin immediately, accountability would be restored, the question of leasing would arise and so forth. We intend here to create within the large kolkhozes small cooperatives, which, uniting, would create a cooperatives' union. This is the program for the present. I am convinced that it will be supported. It will be supported because this would provide the kolkhozes with certain incentives. Anticipating your questions, I will say what kind of incentives these are. First, we have raised purchase prices. We have transferred the majority of types of agricultural product to contracted prices. Not free, contracted.

Second, we have determined maximum prices and have fixed as the quota for the farms to sell to the state for satisfaction of the needs of both production and the populace not 80 percent of their products, as in some places, but 60 percent. And 40 percent is its [as published] right to sell at any price. To whom it likes, where it likes and for how much it likes. It is required to sell the 60 percent of the product to the state not at fixed prices—please don't get confused here—but at maximum prices. There are good years and lean years when it comes to the harvest. In lean years we have to raise prices to the maximum, in good years, they may be reviewed. But the main thing is that the prices of agricultural and industrial products be equivalent. This is the goal we are setting.

Speaking of forms of management and ownership, my position here is this: all forms are good other than inefficient ones. We have in the past 18 months here adopted on these matters 23 resolutions and decrees of the president of the republic. But I consider the main one a resolution which was adopted quite recently—on state assistance to entrepreneurs and private farms. It is quite extensive. We took as a basis what is being done in Russia, Ukraine and the neighboring republics and, having interpreted it critically, prepared our own document. We have lifted the restrictions on enterprise. They will sell not 60 but 50 percent of their product to the state. In the same way—at contracted prices. The state buys from the farms at maximum prices, but from the private farmers, at contracted prices. And they sell the remaining 50 percent at their own prices. Not only that, no taxes will be collected from the private farmers and entrepreneurs for the following two years—absolutely. They will be relieved of customs taxes. Sell where you like. You will obtain as much as you produce. Even if we lose a certain amount in the budget, we will, on the other hand, be putting them firmly on their feet, and then we will negotiate what proportion of their income they will give the state. In a word, the farmers have obtained substantial assistance. Three goals are being pursued here—assistance in the creation of working capital and material and technical resources and the purchase of livestock and everything necessary for reconstituting themselves.

[Sharov] I visited two farmers in Kashka Darya Oblast. I would like to mention that they are getting firmly, soundly established. With what kind of results are the republic's farm workers as a whole completing the agricultural year?

[Karimov] Today's situation does not, as you can understand, dispose us toward reports of victory. Nor could the events going on around us have failed to have been reflected in the state of affairs in agro-industrial production. Nonetheless, the workers of the countryside are working confidently. The quotas for the procurement of raw cotton, silk cocoons and melon crops were met, on the whole. More vegetables and cereals were procured than last year. The volume of milk purchases will be realized in full. Many sectors of processing industry are operating steadily. Although, of course, the problems of the countryside are by no means diminishing.

[Sharov] Uzbekistan, apparently, is one of the few republics where the economy of the countryside appears relatively successful. What is the secret: oriental wisdom, political balance, common sense?

[Karimov] There is no unequivocal answer. First of all, the leadership of the republic proceeds from the fact that the villagers need normal conditions for worthwhile work. We see these as being the starting positions for a solution of the food problem, the more so in that in Uzbekistan the vast majority of people live and work in the countryside.

A number of fundamental measures to strengthen the private subsidiary farms has been adopted in the republic. Approximately 300,000 hectares of irrigable land have been allocated for their development in the past two years. The average size of the adjoining private plots has increased to 20 hundredths. Villagers have been sold a large quantity of young livestock and poultry and approximately 1 million tons of coarse and succulent fodder.

The emphasis in social production is being put on an enhancement of the farm workers' material interest. You will, most likely, remember how difficult the organization of the cotton harvesting was earlier. Literally everyone was involved in this. Tens and, at times, hundreds of thousands of schoolchildren, students and workers were enlisted in this.

We introduced increased pay for the cotton growers themselves—we started to pay up to 40 kopeks per kilo of raw cotton, and up to R40 per ton of machine-harvested cotton. That was the end of the matter. The farm workers went to the fields of their own accord, without any exhortation. The purchase prices of agricultural products were revised also. They were increased by a factor of 1.5-2 as a whole. An appreciable step forward toward the development of diverse forms of management has been taken. Tenants and private farmers are now working in the countryside. But I would emphasize once again that there is no diminution in the role of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes either.

[Sharov] In conversations with the peasantry of your republic I sensed that it was concerned at the breakup of interfarm relations. There is no need to say to what this has led—everyone can see. The crisis is being even further exacerbated, what is more, and there is, it would seem, no light at the end of the tunnel. Your view of the problems of integration and the development of mutually profitable cooperation between erstwhile fraternal republics?

[Karimov] Uzbekistan not only exports a large quantity of various raw material, produce and commodities but imports a considerable amount thereof also. Specifically, grain, sugar, fuel, timber, metal, automobiles and much else. Understandably, the severance of economic ties which had taken shape over decades is doing serious damage to the economy. This is not only affecting us. We are dependent on one another. The way out of the current situation is the development of honest, mutually profitable cooperation. Paramount attention is being given to this problem. Agreements have been signed with the RSFSR, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan, and negotiations are being conducted with other republics. But we have still got to see to it that the agreements function.

[Sharov] I would like to ask a most blunt question: What is happening with us? Where has all the misery come from? Is there a limit to the destructive processes? Please share your vision of things.

[Karimov] We should not be torturing ourselves with emotions. Different political forces explain the ongoing processes in their own way. It is now fashionable to blame for everything only the republics, say. Although it is well known that everything started with the center. Empty promises have been heard very extensively, on the left and on the right, with a kind of infantile levity. And when I, speaking frequently in Moscow, say: Excuse me, but is there a concept of the so-called perestroyka, does it have a strategy, President Gorbachev does not conceal his irritation: "What kind of concept are you talking about? This is reality. What we are doing today is the concept."

There's a position for you. I shall draw an analogy, an unfortunate one, perhaps. Imagine that we had been involved in building a house without having given any thought to the fact that it could all at once collapse. Here in Uzbekistan, for example, the settling of the ground is very high, figuratively speaking. But in some places the other way about. Surely this has to be taken into consideration? To come to the point, we need to know on what kind of foundation and in accordance with what kind of design the house is to be built. The process which we have called perestroyka should have been well-considered, serious and thought through from all sides. After all, the people did not realize what this meant. The people were simply thrown the word: restructure, and as quickly as possible, you cannot go on living this way. But how could it or should it have been done? All appeals were only of a destructive focus. Few people were thinking about creative tasks. People are rightly puzzled: Was there a sincere desire to shape, say, a new financial system, create a market infrastructure, train new personnel, introduce the mentality of competitive economics and so on and so forth. After all, all these are obligatory components of a change in the structure which was preventing us living. No, a policy of what we had already had—thoroughly destroying everything—was adopted. As in the song "...all to its foundations, and then...." When sober-minded people said what "then" meant, they were, at best, classed as conservatives.

And the result? Powerful destructive processes. No country in the world has so rapidly destroyed what it has taken centuries to create. I am not a supporter of the old ways, under no circumstances. But dismantling needs to be undertaken sensibly also. The East is fond of analogies. So imagine that a strong building stands in your way. What do you do, plant a bomb and blow it up in such a way that nothing is left not only of the building but of anything around also? The practical person does not operate in this way. I am speaking figuratively. We have turned everything of the past society into dust and ashes. We have endeavored to destroy this at root and foster a hatred of the recent past.

I am by no means talking about defense of the command administrative system. No. No one liked it. There should simply have been elementary thought given to how, in what way, to have replaced it without millions of people having been driven to despair. How, tell me, could the banking and financial systems have been destroyed and the classical foundation for hyperinflation created? How could the contradictions between republics have been artificially created? Why did the center until its last days so doggedly oppose their horizontal relations?

[Sharov] So things reached the point of Minsk and Ashkhabad....

[Karimov] Exactly. Why have the republics today turned their backs on the center? Primarily because it is already a spent force. It has become an anachronism. It was for this reason that the republics began to seek independence and their own statehood. Believe me, when we attempted to comprehend these problems in Moscow, at the Novo-Ogarevo and other meetings, attempts were made to condemn us, Nazarbayev, myself and others, for, it was alleged, breaking up the state and so forth. Attempts were made to point the finger at us virtually. Surely it is not the center itself but Karimov or Nazarbayev who began the destructive processes?

The center's persistent attempts to preserve all its dictatorial structures led first to Minsk and then to Ashkhabad also. Such is the reality, and I see no tragedy here. Three leaders of the most important republics, whom we profoundly respect, attempted to do what the center itself was required to do. A particular contribution to it was made by B.N. Yeltsin, as a very decisive politician who knows how to assume high responsibility. I respect such people. Kravchuk and Shushkevich evoke complete trust also. They are very dependable, prudent people who are incapable either of any extremism or ill-considered steps. Their meeting took place too rapidly and had a certain veil of secrecy, perhaps. They should, evidently, have at least in general outline coordinated the new approaches with the other republics which are their partners. Nonetheless, the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus should be given credit for having resolved, finally, to create the new Commonwealth of Independent States, which will on a voluntary basis bring together all who so desire, but without upper-level bureaucratic structures, in order also to protect themselves against the tremendous armada of government officials, who, I believe, will not now be that quickly making their way to Minsk.

I do not at the same time, on the other hand, wish to conceal the fact that many complex questions remain open. These include the most difficult—the question of the army, a very delicate, fundamental and, I would say, interethnic, interstate question, and it requires special and in-depth discussion.

Other loose ends are the questions of the budget, credit, currency and the monetary system. We cannot avoid them, but I am sure that they are soluble. I would therefore like to assure SELSKAYA ZHIZN readers that there is no need for panic. Certain forces are creating this panic and, what is most appalling, would like to stir up primarily the Russian-speaking population living outside of Russia. These are the most ungracious actions, which should be decisively curtailed.

[Sharov] Permit me in this connection, Islam Abduganiyevich, to ask you a "head-on" question, as it were: Could you protect the Russian-speaking population here in the republic? There is currently a stable situation here—I have sensed this. Although there is some concern among the Russians....

[Karimov] The equality of people and the nations are not for us just empty words. As president of Uzbekistan, I am responsible for everyone: Uzbeks, Russians, Tatars, Jews. I recently addressed Russians in the cities of Navoi and Zarafshan and I declared once again clearly and firmly that were, God forbid, something unforeseen suddenly to occur, I do not promise you either soldiers or personnel carriers, I would simply be alongside you. And if you take account of the pure heart and nobility of the Uzbek people, I am profoundly convinced that they would come to the defense of all who live alongside them.

[Sharov] Islam Abduganiyevich, I have in the course of my numerous meetings seen for myself that problems of the nonindigenous population in respect to language, national traditions and culture have been approached quite respectively and tactfully in your republic. But problems remain, most likely?

[Karimov] It is impossible under any circumstances being in such a delicate concept as interethnic relations, and they represent a most complex aggregate of socioeconomic, political, and national and cultural problems, a radical and forcing the progress of processes, even if necessary from the viewpoint of national interests. In enacting the law on the official language, therefore, we provided for a relatively lengthy timeframe of its realization. The rights and guarantees of the national minorities are being realized in practice. More than 50 national-cultural centers operate here, and there is a republic interethnic center. Schools, classes and children's establishments, in which training and education are conducted in the languages of compactly resident national groups in the republic, are being opened.

I will say honestly, however, I personally am still not satisfied with what is being done in this respect. A lack of resources, of personnel particularly, and inadequate material and technical facilities and psychological stereotypes and barriers are reflected. Merely the understanding and interest in the cooperation of state structures and the public are reassuring. We proceed from the fact that the natural revival and development of the

Uzbek national culture, language, and traditions should not take place at the expense of the same processes in other national groups of the population.

[Sharov] How would you like to conclude our interview, Comrade President?

[Karimov] Uzbekistan is a rich, peaceable, multinational region. Its freedom-loving people wish for and aspire to equal dialogue, mutually profitable cooperation and active mutual assistance with all countries and peoples of the world, primarily with those with whom they have spent many years in close political and economic union.